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# The Church Quarterly Review

of the Pacific

Edited by Philip Usher

No. 231.

APRIL 1933

Vol. CXVI

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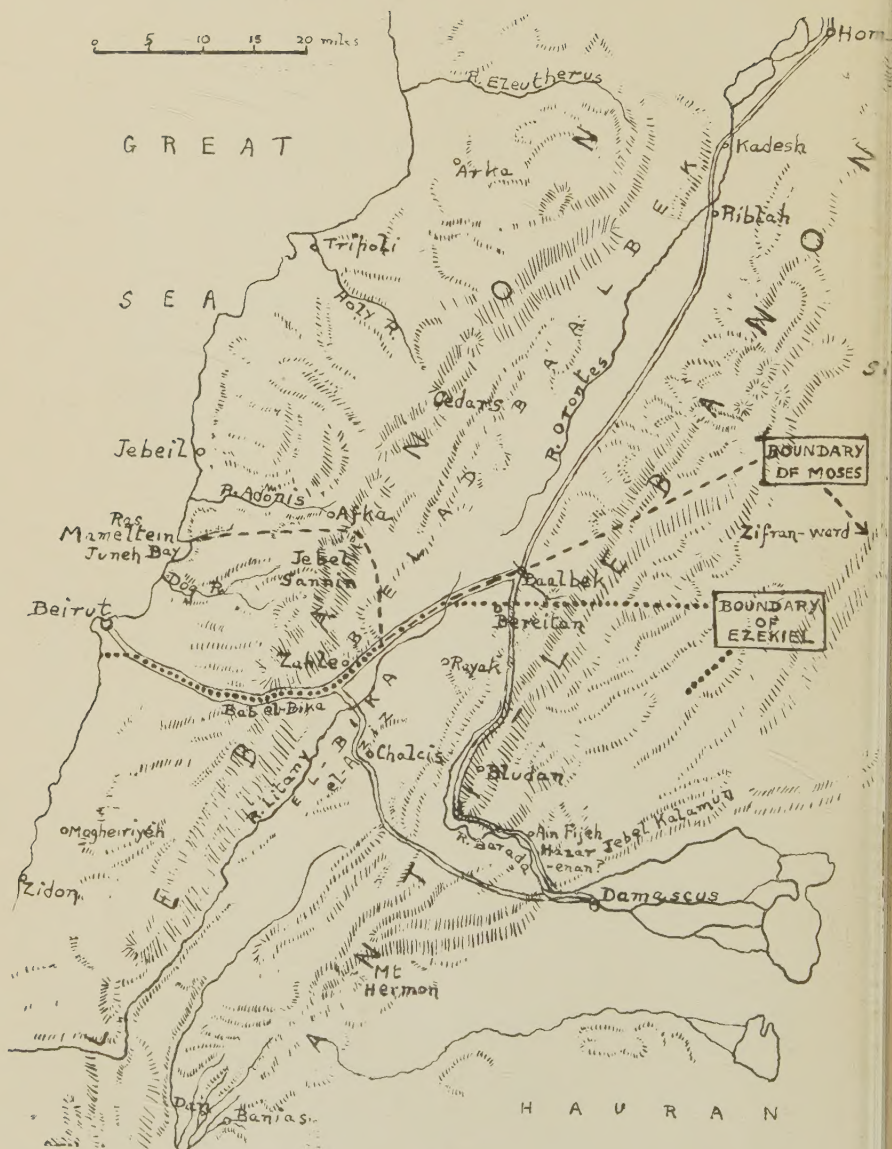
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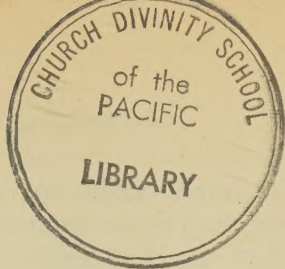


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THE  
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. CCXXXI.—APRIL 1933

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ART. I.—THE LAND OF THE LOST BOUNDARY.

THE Lebanon is a foster-land to marvel. Widespread tradition makes it the Eden of our first parents and home of Noah after the Flood; and the tombs of Abel, Seth, and Noah, many times life-size, are shown there to this day. In Babylonian myth it was the sunset mountain of the Hesperides, "the seat of the gods, the sanctuary of the spirits;" in Egyptian legend, the haven of the sea-borne coffin of Osiris. Its cedars, last remnant of its ancient forests—"the trees of Eden" (Ezek. xxxi, 16), "the cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted" (Ps. civ, 16)—have been venerated for centuries as possessing eternal life and human wisdom. Mastodons, or genii directed by Solomon, have been judged alone capable of assembling the megaliths of Baalbek, where, in the heart of the mountains, in the most magnificent temple of the age, Baal held state till the fourth century of our era. Astarte is not forgotten yet in the opposite heights where Adonis was slain and seasonally his river ran red towards the shore sacred to his goddess-lover. And somewhere in Lebanon's caverns, it is whispered, secretive Druses, whose religion no man, not even a Druse, understands, still adore the golden calf of Samaria.

Not surprisingly the district has been called alternatively "the most religious country in the world"<sup>1</sup> or "a grand centre of superstition and idolatry."<sup>2</sup> Where temples once crowned

<sup>1</sup> Lamartine, *Voyage En Orient*, 28 mars.

<sup>2</sup> Porter, *Giant Cities*, 294.

almost every height, convents of native monks, though rare elsewhere in Syria, became as numerous; and in the precipitous sides of the Holy Valley, near the cedars, hermits' cells have been hollowed out "like swallows' nests in every part." Yet recent travellers allege that in remoter villages modern forms but cloak the worship of the old gods, still animate in the people's hearts. "A land of mystery," a native sums it up, "the mountains the mother of many religions, and even to-day still full of secrets."<sup>1</sup>

On a more matter-of-fact plane the Lebanon is still mysterious, its history masked, even its geography largely myth and heresy. The physical character of the country, where the Lebanon range rises from the coast for nearly 100 miles, its lowest traverse around 5,000 feet high, with beyond it a valley shut in on the south by rugged hills, on the east by the barren heights of Anti-Lebanon, made it a land aloof and veiled, the preserve of Phoenicians and their overlords for its timber,<sup>2</sup> and, as its cedars became exhausted, the domain of Arab tribes. Two of the oldest-inhabited spots on earth, Gebal and Damascus, are on either side, Palestine is immediately to its south, and Emesa, home of Cæsars, to its north; but the half-light of history seems but to deepen the shadows that lie upon it. No name is more familiar than Lebanon in the imagery of the Old Testament, yet into its narrative Lebanon enters not at all: its mountains, stretching north from Dan three-fourths as far as Palestine reaches south, are the borderland between sacred and common history, but whether more sacred than common, to what extent counted within Israel's heritage, is a problem still waiting solution. The inspiration of the superb shrines of Baalbek, worthy of a world-metropolis rather than a city not even a provincial capital, remains a mystery, not

<sup>1</sup> Armstrong, *Turkey and Syria Reborn* (1930), 46.

<sup>2</sup> Tyre was its "covering cherub" (Ezek. xxviii, 14, 16), the Assyrian its "shadowing shroud" (Ezek. xxxi, 3); the Persians had a "paradise" there (Neh. ii, 8; cf. classical *Paradisus* in N. Lebanon).



lessened by the responsibility of the Romans for such imperial tribute to "the great gods of Heliopolis;" and the colossal blocks of the substructure, three of them each over 62 feet long, yet fitted together with nicety in the middle course of masonry 23 feet above the ground, retain the secret of their builders. Unexplained, too, are the tablets of the Dog River, north of Beirut, where conquerors from Ramses II to the armies of the Great War have left their imprint on the rocks—Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, Turks, French, Australians—losing, somewhere in the descent of that list, the wherefore of the proceeding, the significance of the spot. Herodotus<sup>1</sup> knew of the ancient tablets, but otherwise classical culture is as silent on their existence as on the temples of Baalbek-Heliopolis, for whose founding under Antoninus Pius in the second century A.D. Joannes Malalas<sup>2</sup> five centuries later is authority.

That the Jews, tenacious of national tradition through all vicissitudes, should have so completely lost the "ideal" boundary defined by Moses and established under David and Solomon as to be unable to fix it within 100 miles, is a remarkable testimony to the Lebanon's mystifying powers, yet paralleled and made intelligible by the confusion its mountains have produced in authorities of other races. If it were not for the witness of the mountains themselves—if the land, like Atlantis, had been lost, and no later than medieval descriptions existed—its geography would be an enigma greater than its history. Two foremost Grecian authorities, Strabo<sup>3</sup> in the Augustan age and Ptolemy<sup>4</sup> in the Antonine, turn the ranges through a right angle and represent them as extending west-east between the coast and the Damascus region, Lebanon on the north beginning near Tripoli, Anti-Lebanon parallel to it on the

<sup>1</sup> II, 106.

<sup>2</sup> 280.

<sup>3</sup> 16, 2, 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Geog.*, 5, 15. Ptolemy makes the ranges lie SE. by E.

south from Zidon. Pliny<sup>1</sup> in the interval correctly placed the ranges, but Greek writers<sup>2</sup> persist in denominating the mountains near Tyre Anti-Lebanon. Tacitus<sup>3</sup> regards Lebanon as the chief mountain of Palestine and inclusive of Hermon, while Cicero<sup>4</sup> calls the mountains on the north, beside Emesa or Homs, Anti-Lebanon. For medieval pilgrims<sup>5</sup> Anti-Lebanon is a coastal range beginning near Zidon and stretching beyond Tripoli, Lebanon the vague mountains of the interior lying between Damascus and Tripoli, always including our Hermon. Confusion could scarcely be worse confounded, since there is authority there for placing Lebanon either north, south, east, or west of Anti-Lebanon.

The conception of Strabo and Ptolemy may be seen plainly surviving in the map attached to Sandys' *Journey*, 1670 edition, where the ranges extend due east and the spelling of "Antelibanus" for the southern range suggests that it was then interpreted "before Libanus." Maundrell,<sup>6</sup> who twice crossed the ranges in 1697, appears to have been the first modern to record a clear and correct description of their lie and nomenclature; and Reland<sup>7</sup> in 1714, after quoting the ancient opinions, is duly grateful to "*Maundrellus autoptes*."

<sup>1</sup> *H.N.*, 5, 17 (20). Diodorus the Sicilian, a Greek writer contemporary with Strabo, correctly describes the Lebanon range, 19, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander*, 6; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 2, 20. The Latin Curtius, 4, 11, in the same reference calls the mountains Lebanon.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist.*, 5, 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ad Atticum*, 2, 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*: Burchard (1280), XII, 14, 16-17, 25-26; Marino Sanuto (1321), XII, 5, 25-26, 29; John Poloner (1421), VI, 24, 29, 32-33. The experience of the Abbot Daniel (1107), IV, 65, who "was not able to reach Mount Lebanon for fear of the infidels," must in the Middle Ages have been typical.

<sup>6</sup> *Journey*, April 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Palaestina*, 319.



Yet down to the middle of last century confusion remained. Gibbon<sup>1</sup> places both ranges between the Orontes and the sea, Lebanon from the order of mention eastward. The old Greek conception is employed in the notes to an 1821 edition of Tacitus<sup>2</sup> to correct that author's nomenclature; in 1826 an editor of Pliny reconciles the ancients by making the mountains circular.<sup>3</sup> Gibbon's mistake about the Orontes is repeated in the map accompanying Lamartine's *Voyage En Orient* (1838), where "Mt Liban" is printed north of "Anti Liban." In 1842 Mde Pfeiffer,<sup>4</sup> starting from Beirut, crossed "the magnificent Anti-Libanus" into a valley "about six miles long and ten or twelve broad,"<sup>5</sup> and found "Lebanon" at the cedars in the north.

At first sight it is extraordinary that two parallel ranges, lying roughly NNE., one rising from the coast, the other its eastern twin in extent, should be the subject of such misconception; and if the valley between were an open one, so that passage northward from Palestine was directly through it, the confusion would be inexplicable. The Lebanon valley, however, is closed on the south by 20 miles of rugged hill-country which has always diverted the main routes and caused the north-bound traveller to enter the valley *via* Damascus on the east or Beirut on the west; and the fact that Mediterranean traffic went eastward from Beirut to Heliopolis or Damascus must have been dominant with the Hellenist geographers who placed the valley west-east from Beirut. Even to the inhabitant of Palestine, to whom the mountains were the northern barrier

<sup>1</sup> *Decline and Fall*, ch. li.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex Edit. Oberliniana* (Valpy), VI, 3186.

<sup>3</sup> The valley forms an amphitheatre, Lebanon on N. and W., Anti-Lebanon on S. and E.—*Ex Edit. Brotier* (Valpy), II, 958.

<sup>4</sup> *Holy Land*, 176-197.

<sup>5</sup> The average breadth, E.—W., of the valley is 7 to 9 m., but according to Strabo it was 200 stadia, *c.* 22 m., broad, and its "length from the sea into the interior" about twice that. Mde Pfeiffer's "long" is evidently E.—W.

of the land,<sup>1</sup> the idea that the valley beyond lay west-east along its main routes would be natural.

Neither would closer acquaintance inevitably dispel the impression. North of the Beirut-Baalbek road Lebanon throws a spur eastward into the valley; north of Damascus Anti-Lebanon radiates into several ranges, one of which, Jebel Kalamun, forms the north boundary of the Damascus plain; and while the general lie of the two great ranges is about 30° east of north, the Rev. J. L. Porter, author of Murray's *Handbook For Syria* (1858, 1875), after frequent journeys in the Lebanon, four summers on the heights of Anti-Lebanon, and "numerous observations to serve as checks in laying down the line of these mountains," published in 1855 a map in which he—wrongly—claimed to correct "all former maps" by showing Anti-Lebanon lying 50° east of north, or more to the east than north.<sup>2</sup> Amid these mountains even the motorist can so lose his bearings as to record that, having entered the valley from Damascus, "from Rayak we turned north, and came to Zahlé,"<sup>3</sup> though Zahlé is across the valley W. by S. from Rayak—in other words, as to see the valley lying west-east as did the old geographers.

In circumstances so naturally conducive to confusion the introduction of the Greek term Antilibanus ("over against

<sup>1</sup> Medieval maps, *e.g.*, Map of Marino Sanuto (1321), Atlas of Ortesius (*c.* 1591), show the mountains as a solid barrier across the N. of Palestine. In Reland's maps (1714) Antilibanus closes the valley on S.

<sup>2</sup> *Five Years in Damascus*, II, 318-9, and map at end: "I have besides been enabled to ascertain the bearings of the two cities from *one point*—the lofty peak behind Bludan. From this place Ba'albek is clearly seen, and the whole plain of Damascus is also in full view. . . . In all maps . . . Ba'albek is represented as about 20' farther west than Damascus, while in my map *it is 4' east of it* . . . This great change has altered the whole features of the country, and especially of the mountain-range of Antilibanus." Baalbek is 8' W. of Damascus in Survey of Egypt map (1916).

<sup>3</sup> Armstrong, *op. cit.*, 27.

Lebanon"), after Lebanon for centuries had been the designation of the whole system, was as liable to accentuate and perpetuate difficulties and differences as to clarify the grouping of the mountains. The Hebrew Scriptures have no equivalent for the term, but apply the name Lebanon to both ranges, specifically including under it Mount Hermon,<sup>1</sup> the southern and highest peak of Anti-Lebanon proper. For the Jew, therefore, and all who accepted the authority of the Hebrew, Hermon, the most conspicuous summit of Palestine, was irrevocably Lebanon. The Septuagint, which uses the term Antilibanus, and Josephus, who rather obviously avoids it, are both definite that Hermon is part of Libanus:<sup>2</sup> while with medieval travellers the repetition of Josephus' assertion that Jordan rises at the foot of Lebanon—i.e., Hermon—has become so stereotyped as to read like an article of faith,<sup>3</sup> and hence the coastal range was then Anti-Lebanon to the daring spirits who used that term.

It is *prima facie* improbable, however, that Anti-Lebanon was so understood by the Jews, since the mountains of the Phoenician coast are also Lebanon in Scripture,<sup>4</sup> and the view of Josephus,<sup>5</sup> followed by Tacitus, that Libanus is the northern barrier of the land both on east and west, must have been the

<sup>1</sup> Jos. xiii, 5 ; Jg. iii, 3.

<sup>2</sup> LXX as below : Jos., *Ant.*, 5, 1, 22 ; *Wars*, 3, 3, 5. Eusebius and Jerome, *Onomasticon*, correctly describe the relative positions of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, but distinguish Hermon as a "mountain beside Libanus."

<sup>3</sup> *Pal. Pil. Text Soc.*, *passim*, from Arculfus (c. 670), III, 39, to Felix Fabri (1484), IX, 23-34, 173. The statement that Baniyas stands at the foot of Mount Lebanon is also frequent ; so elsewhere de Joinville (1253), *Everyman's Lib.*, 280 ; Maundeville (1322), Bohn's *Early Travels*, 188. The Abbot Daniel (1107), *PPTS*, IV, 65, says that Lebanon is NE. of Lake Genesaret ; de Vitry (1180), *PPTS*, XI, 18-19, that Toron (Tibnin) is "midway between Lebanon and the sea."

<sup>4</sup> Jos. ix, 1 ; 1 K. v, 9 ; Ezr. iii, 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant.*, 8, 5, 3 ; 19, 5, 1.



popular one—sufficiently correct, so long as Libanus only was spoken of. The natural place for the Antilibanus of Apocrypha and Septuagint is, then, on the north of Libanus; that is to say, the Greek conception of a west-east valley must have been followed, but with the names of the ranges reversed.

The prevalence of such a conception among post-exilic Jews would agree with, and account for, the loss of the tradition of their frontier. It is not at all improbable that they shared to such an extent in the mystification so generally produced by the ranges. After the reign of Jeroboam II (early eighth century B.C.) the boundary was never an actual one; in 722 B.C. northern Israel was deported; and until at least the time of the Maccabees (second century B.C.) the Jews, confined to the southern part of the land, had as a nation no contact with the Lebanon. That district, from being the preserve of Phoenicians, Assyrians, and Persians, became overrun by Arab tribes, against whom Alexander the Great<sup>1</sup> in 332 B.C. and Jonathan Maccabæus<sup>2</sup> nearly two centuries later made expeditions, and who under the Romans in the first century B.C. had their own petty states in the mountains. Post-exilic Jews had therefore no greater opportunity for familiarising themselves with the Lebanon than Hellenist culture under the Romans, whose armies, before Strabo at Rome composed his work, had marched southward through the Lebanon valley by Heliopolis to Damascus and organised the province of Syria, and, before Ptolemy of Alexandria flourished, had made that province the foremost of the empire, with an immense trade for which Beirut was a principal port, and a cultural influence likened to the Orontes flowing into the Tiber.<sup>3</sup> The mistake possible to Strabo and Ptolemy—and, it can be added with fair assurance, to Marinus of Tyre, the Phoenician geographer whom Ptolemy followed throughout,

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Alex.*, 6 ; Arrian, *Anab.*, 2, 20.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Mac. xii, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Juvenal, 3, 62.

except where detected in error—was equally possible to post-exilic Jews, and on the evidence must have been the accepted conception of Hellenism, not merely in Alexandria, but also in Tyre and Jerusalem.

The single reference to Antilibanus in the Apocrypha, while vague, "to those that dwelt in Cilicia and Damascus and Libanus and Antilibanus, and to all that dwelt over against the sea coast" (Judith i, 7), yet differentiates the ranges from the coast. The Septuagint has "Antilibanus" for the Hebrew "Lebanon" on its first five occurrences, thereafter always "Libanus." In the book of Joshua both Greek terms are used, and the first reference in which "Lebanon" is unaltered is "the plain of Libanus under Mount Hermon" (xi, 17), while shortly afterwards we have "all Libanus from the east from Galgal under Mount Hermon unto the entrance of Hamath, everyone inhabiting the hill-country from Libanus unto Masereth Memphomaim" (xiii, 5-6). The last-named place was near the Tyrian coast,<sup>1</sup> and the Septuagint Libanus therefore both includes Hermon and adjoins the hill-country of Galilee. Later references similarly regard it as including Hermon,<sup>2</sup> adjacent on one side to Damascus and Gilead,<sup>3</sup> on the other to the harbours of Tyre;<sup>4</sup> while throughout it appears as a range in closest association with the land, its mountains the natural source of imagery.

The most illuminating occurrence of Antilibanus in the Septuagint is in the catalogue of kingdoms west of Jordan in Jos. ix, 1: there, where the Hebrew has "kings . . . in all the coast of the Great Sea in front of Lebanon," the Greek reads "those in all the coast of the Great Sea, and those near Antilibanus." It follows, firstly, that, as already appeared

<sup>1</sup> Kh. el-Mesherifeh, 14 m. S. of Tyre.—Garstang, *Jos. and Jg.*, 190-1; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ch. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Jg. iii, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Song vii, 4; Jer. xxii, 6, "Gilead the beginning of Libanus."

<sup>4</sup> 1 K. v, 9; 2 Ch. ii, 8; Ezr. iii, 7; Ezek. xxvii, 5.

from the Apocrypha, neither Libanus nor Antilibanus was regarded as a coastal range; secondly, that here Antilibanus is to be equalled neither to our Anti-Lebanon nor exclusively to part of it, for that range has no association with land west of Jordan. The latter deduction is endorsed by the rendering of Moses' desire in Dt. iii, 25, as to cross over Jordan and see, not Lebanon, but Antilibanus: there the reason for the change must be the same as in the three remaining alterations,<sup>1</sup> in each of which, while the Hebrew promises an extension of dominion from Lebanon to the Euphrates, the Greek substitutes "Antilibanus"—viz., that Antilibanus was the remoter range, at the extreme of Canaan. This agrees with the definite inclusion in the Septuagint Libanus of both Hermon and the mountains of the Zidonian coast, so that it can be laid down that their "Over-against-Libanus" was the outer range, at the extreme of the land west of Jordan, not parallel to the coast, but opposite a Libanus which reached across Palestine from Hermon: in other words, that it lay west-east to the north of Libanus.

When idea and reality so conflicted, the preservation of the tradition of the north boundary was made impossible. Originally its west-east section had been thus defined: "*From the Great Sea ye shall mark out for you Mount Hor; from Mount Hor ye shall mark out the entering-in of Hamath; and the outgoings of the border shall be Zedad-ward*" (Nu. xxxiv, 7-8). Under David, Solomon, and Jeroboam II<sup>2</sup> "*the entering-in of Hamath*" was sufficient index, and Ezekiel also uses the expression in delineating the ideal land whose north border is to be "*alongside the way of Hethlon, the entering-in of Hamath*" (xlvi, 1) and whose coastline is to extend "*as far as over against the entering-in of Hamath*" (xlvii, 20). By the entering-in of Hamath it is generally understood that some part of the Lebanon valley was intended, but whether its north or south

<sup>1</sup> Dt. i, 7; xi, 24; Jos. i, 4.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Ch. xiii, 5; 1 K. viii, 65; 2 Ch. vii, 8; 2 K. xiv, 25; Am. vi, 14.



end or an intermediate stage is the question;<sup>1</sup> and the answer was inevitably lost if post-exilic Jews thought of the valley as lying west-east across the land.

The attempts of the Seventy to define the north boundary bear out this reading of the situation. Nu. xxxiv, 7-8, is rendered by them, "*From the Great Sea ye shall mete out for yourselves beside the mountain the mountain. And from the mountain ye shall mete out for yourselves the mountain, as men go into Hamath, and its outgoing shall be the borders of Saradak*"—a thoroughly vague delineation, explicable as an attempt to impose on the Hebrew the idea of an eastward continuation of the coastal mountain landmark alongside the approach to Hamath. In Ezekiel they unequivocally desert the Hebrew and resort to a Mediterranean bay as index—"from the Great Sea where it comes in, and cuts all round the entrance of Emaseldam<sup>2</sup>" (xlvii, 15), "by the side of the incoming of the circumsection towards the entrance of the Hamath enclosure" (xlviii, 1)—which decidedly suggests an entrance opening from the coast.

The place-names of the interior which the Greek substitutes for Ezekiel's—Maabtheras Hebrameliam (xlvii, 16)—convey nothing to scholarship. In their official delineations of the boundary, therefore, the Seventy bequeath no definite clue except the entrance<sup>3</sup> to Hamath, and on this they rely to fix both the mountain and the bay they have in mind. Where was this entrance, now so wholly vague, but apparently to the Seventy the one reliable feature in their blurred picture of the Lebanon? Since the Septuagint Libanus reached northward

<sup>1</sup> For the N. end, G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* (1931), 478; Burney, *Judges*, xcix, 63; Driver, *Hastings' Dict. of Bible*, art. *Riblah*; for the S. end, Garstang, *Jos. and Jg.*, 104; Skinner, *Kings*, 155. Conflicting views may be found among the contributors to almost any work of reference.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently a compound with succeeding "Hamath" of Hebrew (Gr., Emath), omitted in LXX: so Davidson, *Ezekiel*, 384.

<sup>3</sup> εἰσόδος, seven times with Hamath.

from Hermon "unto the entrance of Hamath" (Jos. xiii, 5, *supra*), the order from Palestine evidently was Libanus, the entrance, Antilibanus; and as Hamath in actuality extended into the Lebanon region,<sup>1</sup> the entrance and the valley as they saw it were either wholly or largely identical.

If the north boundary was lost in this confused apprehension of the Lebanon, it may be recovered in recognition of the basis of that confusion: the west-east valley is non-existent, but the west-east entrance to the valley which made the misapprehension plausible was, and is, real. This entrance was north of the Septuagint Libanus—the mountains from Zidon to Hermon—but still within the mountain system—south of the Septuagint Antilibanus, corresponding to the range which Strabo and Ptolemy placed eastward from Tripoli. Between Zidon and Tripoli the immemorial entrance to the valley has been the Beirut-Baalbek road over the pass presently known as the Bab el-Bika<sup>2</sup>, "Gate of the Lebanon Valley." In maps used in the Great War there is no high-road or railway over Lebanon except from Beirut, and in the Peutinger Tables, a map of Roman military roads, the Beirut-Heliopolis route is likewise the Palestinian entrance to the valley. Before the modern road—the first carriage road in Syria—was constructed, this mountain traverse, though little better than a goat path, was a great caravan road to the sea;<sup>3</sup> and before the Roman road was made, there is no reason to doubt it held the same

<sup>1</sup> S. of River Eleutherus, at N. end of Lebanon, 1 Mac. xii, 25-30; Jos., *Ant.*, 13, 5, 10. S. of Riblah, within the Lebanon valley, 2 K. xxiii, 33; Jer. xxxix, 5. To Bereitan, 4 m. SSW. of Baalbek, if Bereitan=Berothah, Ezek. xlvii, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Survey of Egypt map (1916). "*L'embouchure de la vallée de Bka.*"—Lamartine, *op. cit.*, *Les Maronites* (1832).

<sup>3</sup> "Yet this is the great high road between Damascus and the sea, and all merchandise for embarkation, or for the interior, has to be conveyed by it across the mountain."—Stewart, *Tent and Khan* (1857), 476. Beirut was likewise the port of Damascus in the Middle Ages.

precedent position :<sup>1</sup> owing to the escarpments and intricacies of the range, whose crest nowhere sinks far below 5,000 feet and in whose maze of paths natives become lost, there was no preferable passage to and from the Phœnician coast. The maps in Sir G. A. Smith's *Historical Atlas* show this route as existing continuously from 1500 B.C.

The Beirut-Bika' road is thus presented as the cause and the solution of the problem. That it was an entrance to Hamath is definite: the road runs east from the coast to the Lebanon pass, thence, branching from the Damascus road, goes NE. by E. across the valley to Baalbek at the foot of Anti-Lebanon, thence NNE. by the base of that range to "Riblah in the land of Hamath," a town 14 miles within the Lebanon valley. Onward from the Bab el-Bika' the traveller was decisively *en route* for Hamath, and somewhere between that pass and Riblah he crossed the Hamath frontier. The route claims to be not merely an entrance, but, owing to the closure of the valley southward, *the* Palestinian, as against the Damascene, entrance to Hamath.

Such place-names of the boundary as can be spoken of with any assurance support this locus for it. Moses' line was directed to run out "Zedad-ward," and Zedad is almost inevitably the modern Sadad,<sup>2</sup> about 10 miles east of Anti-Lebanon and NE. by E. from the Bab el-Bika' pass. The boundary therefore followed the road in its NE. by E. course across the valley, but left it on reaching Anti-Lebanon, and continued in the same direction across the range towards Sadad, not necessarily—such is the force of the local ending—up to it. In the valley Baalbek was thus the extreme of the land.

<sup>1</sup> "No great amount of road-laying was necessary in the parts of Syria first annexed. Most of the possible routes were clearly defined by nature, and, though seldom passable by wheeled vehicles, had been used for traffic from time immemorial."—Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province*, 166.

<sup>2</sup> So Burney, *Judges*, c, following Robinson and Furrer. *Encyc. Biblica* gives also Wetzstein, Mühlau, Socin. So also tentatively Lofthouse, *Ezekiel*, 345; Redpath, *Ezekiel*, 261.



In Jos. xiii, 4, the ideal extension of the land is "unto Aphek-ward, unto the border of the Amorites,"<sup>1</sup> and the Septuagint also gives Aphek as the northward limit, "the Zidonians unto Aphek." The only identification for this Aphek is with modern Afka,<sup>2</sup> the ancient Aphaca, the Venus-sanctuary on the headwaters of the Adonis,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of the Baalbek parallel.

In the future land defined by Ezekiel the border, both in Hebrew and Greek, lies north of Damascus (xlvi, 16-17; xlviii, 1), and in its west-east section the Hebrew place-names are Berothah and Sibram (xlvi, 16); the latter is unknown, but authority favours the identification of Berothah with Bereitan,<sup>3</sup> 4 miles SSW. from Baalbek. "The way of Hethlon"—a name otherwise unknown—is interpretable as "the route of the Hittite khans" (from *Heth*, patronymic of Hittites, and *lun*, "to lodge for the night"), the road by which Hittite traders of the north came to the "mart of nations," Tyre. Hittite territory extended from Asia Minor to Hamath, and in horses at least their trade with the south was considerable:<sup>4</sup> as caravans crossing Lebanon required to spend a night on the mountain, and before the modernisation of the Beirut road there were eight khans for their accommodation by the other-

<sup>1</sup> In Jos. xiii, 4-6 the full extent of the unconquered land N. from Ekron is first given—"all the land of the Canaanites," i.e., the coastland to Zidon (Dt. i, 7; Gen. x, 19), and farther from Mearah (prob. Mogheiriyeh, 6 m. NE. of Zidon) to the Amorite border in the Lebanon valley: then the outline is filled in as comprising a district of the Gebalites, the Lebanon to the entering-in of Hamath, the hill-country S. from Lebanon, and all Zidonian territory.

<sup>2</sup> So *En. Bib.*, I, 191; III, 3734; Oxford *Hebrew Lexicon*, and Robinson, *Century Bible*, *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> *En. Bib.* gives Furrer, Socin, v. Riess. *Hist. Atlas*, maps 34, 35, places Berothah tentatively at Bereitan; and so Oxford *Lexicon*, and Lofthouse, *Ezekiel*, *ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> 1 K. x, 28-29; Ezek. xxvii, 14. "Horses and mules, however, were not favoured by the climate of the coast regions (of Syria), and were imported from Asia Minor."—Bouchier, *op. cit.*, 160.

wise desolate mountain track,<sup>1</sup> the shelters of the horse-drovers of Ezekiel's day may well have given a name to the road.

The bay by which the Septuagint replaces this road is at once identifiable with the curve of St George's Bay northward from Beirut, opposite the trans-valley route to Baalbek, so "cutting all round the entrance" and affording to those who knew the coastline but were vague about the interior a safe cover for their confusion. The Seventy, as already indicated, desert Ezekiel's terms almost completely, notably his "border of Hamath," and show anxiety that their bay should be completely included: "*as far as over against the entrance of Hamath, as far as its entrance; these are the parts to the west of Hamath*" (xlvi, 20) is their enlarged version of the extent of the coastline,<sup>2</sup> and their abandonment of "the way of Hethlon" is attributable to a desire to retain the traditional mountain landmark and include the whole valley as they oriented it. "The incoming of the circumsection," which is distinguished from the curve in general and marks the border, finds thus full explanation in Juneh Bay, the deep indentation on the coastline 7 miles north of Beirut, on the Baalbek parallel, and at the foot of Jebel Sannin, the dominant summit of Lebanon.

The identification of Mount Hor is of course the *clou* of the problem. Sannin's eligibility as landmark is supreme: it rises direct from the sea, the coastal plain on either side ceasing at its roots; until aneroid measurements were taken, it was regarded as the highest summit of Lebanon;<sup>3</sup> from both north

<sup>1</sup> Stewart, *op. cit.*, 476-484. Stewart in 1854 took 4½ days to the 20-mile crossing, owing to storm. From Baalbek to the Bab el-Bika' pass was a day's stage.

<sup>2</sup> "Hamath" has been added to the conventional "This is the west side" to make it read "This is the west side of Hamath." Here, as elsewhere in Ezekiel, *e.g.*, xlii, 16-20, it is impossible to regard the LXX as translation *pur et simple*.

<sup>3</sup> So, *e.g.*, Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog.* (1870), II, 606b; Ritter, *Palestine* (1866), II, 165; Robinson, *Phys. Geog. of Holy Land* (1865), 310. Vulgate renders Mount Hor "*montem altissimum*."

and south—to as far as 20 miles south of Dan—it limits the mountain horizon, and from the east is equally prominent throughout the whole of Coele-Syria. As a boundary-mark its claims are equivalent: it stands at the main watershed of Syria, the versant between the Orontes, flowing north to Antioch, and the south-flowing Litany, Barada, and Jordan—the highest level of the Great Rift which cleaves Syria for 470 miles, from the Lake of Antioch to the Gulf of 'Akabah; it stands too at the exact centre of the Syrian coast, hence altogether in position to be the frontier crest between North and South Syria. And it had a further claim which the most primitive races could recognise, being actually such a boundary that progress along the coast was possible only by hewing a way for about a mile through the rock of its sea-root at the Dog River: before this road was cut, dominion had inevitable barrier there; and when it was made—a ladder-like ascent leading up from the chasm of the river to a height of over 100 feet at the promontory, thence continuing south along the sea-face in a shelf a fathom wide in Roman days—the strategic importance of such a pass, where, says a traveller when the Saracens held it, “a few men could forbid all the world to pass by,”<sup>1</sup> made it, in alliance with the significance of the watershed, a natural limit of imperial conquest.

The district from which Sannin rises, between the Adonis and Beirut, has in all ages been a borderland. Last century the boundary between the provinces of Tripoli and Beirut was the Adonis River,<sup>2</sup> 3 miles north of Juneh Bay. Burckhardt<sup>3</sup> in 1812 and Maundrell<sup>4</sup> in 1697 give the Wady Mameltein, at the north corner of Juneh Bay, as marking the frontier between the pashalic of Tripoli, extending 100 miles north to Latakia, and the pashalic of Zidon, 140 miles south to Jaffa. Volney<sup>5</sup> in 1785 makes the Dog River, 2 miles south of the bay, divide

<sup>1</sup> Burchard (1280), *PPTS*, XII, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Conder, *Palestine* (1889), map 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Travels in Syria*, 181-2, 648.

<sup>4</sup> March 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Etat Politique De La Syrie*, ch. i, vii, viii.



the pashalics and serve as boundary between Maronites and Druses. Medieval pilgrims<sup>1</sup> likewise give the Dog River as separating the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem, and bounding the county of Tripoli. Under the Crusaders the Adonis was the frontier between the kingdom of Jerusalem and the county of Tripoli, or, according to de Vitry (1180), "the brook which flows between Biblium and Beyrout,"<sup>2</sup> which might from these limits be the Adonis, Wady Mameltein, or Dog River.<sup>3</sup> The position held till last century by the insignificant Wady Mameltein, 5 miles long, is noteworthy as coinciding precisely both with the Septuagint's "by the side of the incoming," and Moses' "From the Great Sea ye shall mark out for you Mount Hor," since the northernmost root of Sannin extends to the sea along the north side of Junch Bay to the headland of Ras Mameltein.

Long before Moses' day the district was a recognised borderland. Gebal, the ancient coastal state which controlled the pass, has "boundary" as its root meaning, then "mountain-boundary" or "mountain," Arabic *jebel*. At the settlement of Israel, probably in the early fourteenth century, a district of the Gebalites was associated with the Amorite border in the Lebanon valley which was adopted as Israel's (Jos. xiii, 5); and when Ramses II, warring with the Hittites a century later, placed his boundary-stelae at the Dog River, it is not to be thought that this was the first recognition of the region's significance, but rather that before Israel's entrance it had played its part in the relations of state—back, perhaps, to the days too dim for date when Sargon of Akkad left his tablet by the Mediterranean; back, surely, to the days when conquest stopped there perforce, because over the sea-root of Sannin there was no road.

On the eastern side of Sannin, at the watershed, there is

<sup>1</sup> Burchard, *ibid.*; M. Sanuto (1321), *ibid.*, 6.

<sup>2</sup> PPTS, XI, 11-12. Biblium—Jebeil.

<sup>3</sup> Later geographers merged Adonis and Dog R. into one river as the frontier: so Sandys, *Journey* (1610), 209; cf. Maundrell, March 17; Lamartine, 18 novembre. The intermediate Wady Mameltein very probably caused the confusion.

also a natural and continuously recognised division between the Orontes and Litany faces of the valley. The name el-Bika' properly belongs only to the fertile southern half of the valley, el-Bika' el-'Aziz or "the Dear Valley," while the barren Orontes face is strictly the Belad (District) Baalbek, and the boundary between the two was understood last century as running from Zahlé, beside the Bab el-Bika' pass, to Baalbek,<sup>1</sup> that is, along the line of the cross-valley Hamath road. So in Roman times Coele-Syria Proper meant the Litany basin only, and the kingdom of Chalcis which occupied it was bounded to the north by the territory of the Roman colony at Beirut, *Julia Felix*, which reached to the Orontes sources<sup>2</sup> and so to the sister-colony at Baalbek, *Julia Heliopolitana*. Five centuries earlier, under Babylon, the border of Hamath was at Berothah (Ezek. xlvii, 16-17), identified with Bereitan beside Baalbek.

Beyond the local significance of this division there was the wider relevance of the waterparting between the river of North Syria and the rivers of Phoenicia, Palestine, and Damascus. Of this central Syrian march the cross-valley road to Baalbek formed an index so convenient and immediately intelligible that no further explanation is needed of the employment of "the entering-in of Hamath" as the favoured index of Israel's ideal frontier.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and R. Geog.*, I, 1036b; II, 1071a; Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, 16, 2, 19.

<sup>3</sup> The lines of Moses and Ezekiel, the historic and the prophetic, meet on the cross-valley road, but diverge to W. and E. Moses' line, marking out Mount Hor "for you," left the sea at Juneh Bay, rounded the mountain on the N. by Afka till it met the Hamath road by the E. base of Sannin, then ran NE. by E. with the road to Anti-Lebanon and continued in the same direction, "Zedad-ward," across that range. Ezekiel's line, leaving the sea where the coast arrives "over against the entering-in" and following thence the way of Hethlon, runs from S. of Beirut and excludes Mount Hor from the land; likewise on the E., where it leaves the road on the parallel of Bereitan and runs to "the entering-in Zedad-ward" (xlvi, 15) instead of Zedad-ward, it excludes Baalbek. An evident reason for withdrawal appears in the development of the excluded localities as centres of Ash-toreth- and Baal-worship.

This frontier at the centre of the Levant was manifestly one of the most important of the ancient world, with every claim, as its central dividing line, to be attributed a like central importance: for if Syria was the heart of the old world, the Lebanon was the heart of Syria, the Baalbek versant the heart of Lebanon—the Rubicon for world-conquest from north or south. In the wars of empire Syria never held place as an independent power, but lay a prize to be contested between the “king of the south,” Egypt, and his various opponents from the north, Hittites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Seleucid Greeks. For encroaching powers the Lebanon was the debatable land and its passes the key to supremacy: no army could traverse it without passing Gebal or Baalbek; no general could push his conquests unless he held both. To hold the Dog River - Baalbek line was to hold the balance of power in Syria and so set the seal on imperial ascendancy: to lose it, as Pharaoh and Ptolemy lost it, was to lose the hegemony of the nations.

Thus in the recovery of the boundary the *raison d'être* of Dog River tablets and Baalbek temples appears. The empire which carved its insignia at the Dog River, the god who reared his shrine at Baalbek, was the dominant power of the day, proclaiming dominion over south or north and challenging the opposite quarter. The first tablets at the Dog River, carved by Ramses II when marching against the Hittites to restore Egyptian suzerainty in Syria, represent his claims (whether warranted by the event or not) to hold South Syria:<sup>1</sup> and as these claims comprised the Amorite buffer-state in the Lebanon,<sup>2</sup> whose frontier in Jos. xiii, 4 serves as guide to Israel's and remained constant from Joshua's time to Ramses',<sup>3</sup> the tablets at Sannin's sea-root, opposite its summit, are abiding

<sup>1</sup> “They of course mark the advance boundary of Ramses II's northern conquests.”—Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, 125.

<sup>2</sup> At the commencement of the war the Amorite state was vassal to Egypt.—Olmstead, *Palestine and Syria*, 220, 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 181, 219, 226.



witness to the true Mount Hor, the boundary-crest desired alike by Pharaoh and Moses.

The Assyrian tablets, now indecipherable, are evidently in origin a counter-claim to the Egyptian, or assertion of sovereignty over North Syria. The monarchs to whom they are most usually attributed are Tiglath-pileser I (c. 1120-1100), Ashurnatsirpal III (884-860), Shalmaneser III (860-825), Sennacherib (705-681), and Esarhaddon (681-668). Tiglath-pileser conquered "the country of the Hittites and the upper ocean of the setting sun,"<sup>1</sup> and on reaching the Mediterranean was formally recognised by the Pharaoh as successor to Hittite claims.<sup>2</sup> Ashurnatsirpal records that he "took possession of the boundaries of Lebanon,"<sup>3</sup> Shalmaneser that on an expedition against Damascus he marched "to the mountains of Mount Ba'liras (i.e., 'having a summit') which is a headland of the sea" to leave his "royal image" there:<sup>4</sup> and though Assyrian claims to sovereignty even then extended to Phoenicia and Israel, and later monarchs carried their arms to Egypt, that does not prohibit us seeing in their tablets a persistent recognition of the historic dividing line between north and south—between the Khatti-land and Amurru (Hittite-land and Amorite-land) of which Esarhaddon still styled himself sovereign.<sup>5</sup> The two-fold aspect of Sannin as boundary-mark, both crest of the watershed and Lebanon's barrier-arm in the sea, was the magnet which drew successive Assyrian monarchs to perpetuate their conquests in its rock: this appeal is reflected alike in Shalmaneser's "summit-mountain which is a headland of the sea" and Sennacherib's "I am come up to the height of the mountains, the innermost parts of Lebanon . . . and I will enter into the height of its end."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the Past*, V, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Winckler, *Babylonia and Assyria*, 203.

<sup>3</sup> Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and O.T.*, I, 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 200, 202; Sayce, *High. Crit.*, 396.

<sup>5</sup> Winckler, *op. cit.*, 261.

<sup>6</sup> Is. xxxvii, 24; *qets*, "end in space," "cutting-off."

To its place on the versant between north and south the importance of Baalbek with all its "dim and infinite meaning" must likewise be due. The Romans, it is self-evident, did not in this secluded Syrian valley build to "the great gods of Heliopolis" the vastest and most ornate temples of their empire without having behind their work some tremendous driving-force in which an already acquired reputation of the Sun-city played its part. It is also evident that to that reputation its position on the watershed contributed: Pliny, before the Roman temples were begun, defines the Orontes source as "*iuxta Heliopolin*;"<sup>1</sup> and the temples stand on substructures around which flows the Baalbek stream, the water of which, as an Arab proverb records, "never leaves its home;"<sup>2</sup> rising in Anti-Lebanon and flowing westward to disappear in the plain without joining either Orontes or Litany, this stream is "absolutely without watershed, though bounded immediately to the right and to the left—north and south—by the two great river systems of Coelesyria."<sup>3</sup> To primitive eyes, as to its natives to-day, Baalbek was observably "upon the balance"<sup>3</sup> between north and south.

Its Baal, like the district of which he was lord, was peculiarly exposed to the tug of opposing quarters of the heavens. At least once he changed his complexion from a god of the south to a god of the north: originally a deity of the Egyptian Heliopolis, he, presumably with the decline of Egyptian influence in the twelfth century B.C., became worshipped "rather by Syrian than Egyptian ritual;"<sup>4</sup> and his symbols—bulls, thunderbolt, disk—show that he was in fact an Oriental deity, generally understood to be Hadad, the Syrian "prince of the power of the air," when the Greeks syncretised him with Zeus as a sun-god. In the tenth century, when David and Solomon held the Lebanon, he yielded (we must assume) to the God of Jerusalem, but with the rise of Syria of Damascus

<sup>1</sup> *H.N.*, 5, 18 (22).

<sup>2</sup> Warner, *In The Levant*, I, 247.

<sup>3</sup> Burton, *Unexplored Syria*, I, 52-53.

<sup>4</sup> Macrobius, I, 23; cf. Lucian, *Dea Syria*, i5,

was re-established in the Bika' of Idolatry (Am. i, 5) by the royal house of the Bene Hadad, and with the coming of the Assyrians identified with Ramman or Rimmon, their atmosphere-god. With the division of Alexander's empire the Lebanon became more than ever the debatable land of "the king of the north" and "the king of the south," Seleucid and Ptolemy; and when the mists clear, we see the Syrian Heliopolis the seat of Zeus Heliopolites—Olympus federate with Baal—and a Jewish temple built in the nome of the Egyptian Heliopolis by refugees from the power of the north.

The history of Baalbek thus gave edge to a position which naturally made its Baal the standard-bearer of the north in the war of the old gods with Jehovah. In such a reputation gathered from the change and conflict of centuries an adequate inspiration of the Roman temples appears. Their foundation in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) followed upon the desperate and final revolt of the Jews under Bar-Cochab (131-135 A.D.), and the same impulse which gave the name of Jupiter Capitolinus to Jerusalem, forbade a Jew to enter it, and erected shrines to Jove or Venus on all its sacred sites, was behind the exaltation of the northern gods in the Baal-sanctuary which had always been a challenge to the God of Israel; while behind the long and flaunting execution of the plan was the ascendant Syrian influence in the empire which culminated in the accession to the imperial throne in 193 A.D. of the Ishmaelite house of Emesa (Homs), 58 miles north from Baalbek. To the Empress Julia Domna, daughter of the hereditary priest of Baal there, to her son Caracalla, to Elagabal, "god of the mountain" (perhaps "of the boundary") and consecrated priest of the sun at Emesa, the exaltation of the sun-god at the threshold of Jehovah's territory must have been in the nature of a personal triumph, the climax of a family feud of two thousand years: and to no representatives of the pagan world could knowledge of the full significance of Baalbek's position more naturally be attributed. Earthquakes have shattered the temples long since, but not impaired their witness to the tremendous import of the site for the champions of a cultus which turned its back on the "dying god."



The lost boundary was therefore not so lost but that it could be seen supremely marked by nature and by man—by barrier-rock and mountain skyline and watershed stream, by stela, megalith, and temple; not so forgotten but that it might be found persisting in local practice twenty-five centuries after Israel retired from it; not so concealed but that to the ancients it may credibly have been the chief boundary of their world, the dividing line between south and north, between the “right hand” and sinister powers of the air—for there Adonis of Phoenicia and Osiris of Egypt were buried, and the territory of the Orontes, formerly named from Typhon,<sup>1</sup> slayer of Osiris, began. The real mystery of the Lebanon’s geography is that ever such a boundary could be lost; yet by the wisdom of man, which better than his faith availed to move mountains, it has been shown that even this could be done.

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo, 16, 2, 7.

## ART. II.—EUSEBIUS AND THE PASCHAL CONTROVERSY AT THE END OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

EUSEBIUS, in his ecclesiastical history, gives a very important description of the resolute policy pursued by Victor of Rome (189-199) in the conflict as to the right day of Paschal Celebration.

Pope Victor, according to Eusebius, was so determined to enforce the Roman practice upon the other Christian communities, that he even attempted to excommunicate the Apostolically founded churches of the western cities of Asia Minor<sup>1</sup> (Ephesus, Smyrna, etc.) which insisted upon their rights of keeping their own ancient and particular customs.<sup>2</sup>

This important event of Church history has been unanimously considered by historians as the turning-point in the relations between local churches. In fact it has been regarded as the first occasion upon which a Pope claimed to act in the capacity of supreme head of the Church.

Such a description of the Paschal Controversy can be found in all the chief manuals of Church history,<sup>3</sup> and even those historians who were little inclined to attribute an early origin to the papacy were obliged to recognise that already at the end of the second century there were unmistakable signs of an active papal policy in the Church.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus., *H.E.*, V, 24, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Eus., *H.E.*, V, 24, 1.

<sup>3</sup> L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, I, 210-211. A. von Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 489. B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church* (Oxon, 1922), p. 355-6. P. Batiffol, *Primitive Catholicism*, p. 222-8. Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, Vol. I, p. 142-151.

<sup>4</sup> Türmel, *Histoire du Dogme de la Papauté*, p. 80 (Paris, 1908). Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, I, p. 70 (London, 1891).

The only point of contention between the various historians was the question as to whether Pope Victor already possessed the power of excommunicating the other Churches, or whether this was only his first attempt at employing this formidable weapon. Some historians, such as Th. Zahn,<sup>1</sup> maintained that this power already belonged to Victor, who actually excommunicated the Asiatic communities. Others asserted that Victor could only use the mere threat of excommunication and never went beyond it.<sup>2</sup>

Although Eusebius' account of the Paschal Controversy contained some points which presented a real difficulty in their explanation and described the development of the Church as being rather revolutionary, its authority has remained unchallenged. The reason for this was a very well arranged set of quotations from the original documents which were skilfully used by Eusebius in the support of his narrative.

The main weak points, however, of the traditional approach to the Paschal Controversy, which unconditionally accepted Eusebius' interpretation, was the complete silence Eusebius maintained as to the particular causes which provoked the new outburst of the dispute at the time of Victor's episcopate, as well as its dependence on the existence of the custom of sending the Eucharist from Rome to Asia, which was one of the foundation stones of Eusebius' narrative.<sup>3</sup> It also presupposed that the Church at the end of the second century possessed a definite system of central government, at the head of which stood Pope Victor,<sup>4</sup> who felt himself responsible for maintaining uniformity in the rites and customs of the various local communities. He

<sup>1</sup> Th. Zahn, *Weltverkehr und Kirche warend der Ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, p. 40. (1877).

<sup>2</sup> F. Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, p. 18 (London, 1900). G. Salmon, *The Infallibility of the Church*, p. 385 (London, 1890).

<sup>3</sup> See L. Duchesne, *La Question de la Pâque au Concile de Nicée*, p. 12 (*Revue des Questions Histor.* t. xxviii, 1880).

<sup>4</sup> P. Batiffol, *Primitive Catholicism*, p. 228.



summoned synods and he possessed the power of excommunicating the disobedient local churches.

The last point in particular presented a real difficulty; for the history of the third and fourth centuries revealed that the Church was struggling for the creation of its central organisation, rather than as already possessing it, which was clearly implied in Eusebius' description of the Church at the end of the second century. The absence of any further mention of the sending of the Eucharist from Rome to Asia afforded yet another reason for the re-examining of the traditional interpretation of the Paschal Controversy.

The first important step towards this only occurred as recently as 1925, when J. La Piano published in the *Harvard Theological Review* an essay entitled "The Roman Church at the end of the Second Century." La Piano was the first to prove that the clash between the Roman Church and the Asiatic communities at the end of the second century was provoked by a local conflict within the Roman Church, and was dominated by Victor's concern about the increase of discipline and uniformity within his own local Church of Rome. According to La Piano, the Roman community was then composed of very heterogeneous elements and its organisation was loose and less developed than that of the other smaller and therefore more homogeneous local churches.<sup>1</sup>

A specially difficult problem for the Roman Christians was the fact that the Asiatic settlers at Rome, who had many Christians amongst them, formed a community of their own which carefully preserved its home customs and traditions. These Roman Christians of Asiatic origin were—like their Mother Church—Quartodecimans, and they celebrated their Easter on a different day from the Roman Bishop, and to this the majority of the members of his congregation objected. Naturally, this divergency could not but provoke acute discomfort. Anicetus was probably the first Bishop of

<sup>1</sup> See La Piano, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, July, 1925, pp. 209 seq., 221 seq., 231.

Rome who tried to induce the Roman Quartodecimans to abandon their home traditions. He did not succeed, however, and it was mainly due to the vigorous help which the Asiatic Church offered to their Roman brothers.<sup>1</sup> Victor again made an attempt to suppress the Quartodecimans at Rome. He eventually succeeded in excommunicating the Roman Quartodecimans at one of the Roman synods, but the latter refused even then to abandon their opposition, and formed an independent community, electing as their head a certain man called Blastus. That is a brief summary of La Piano's main conclusions as far as the Paschal Controversy is concerned.<sup>2</sup>

This explanation of the origin of the conflict reveals a fresh and novel picture of the conditions inside the Roman community as well as of the relationship between the various local churches at the end of the second century. Victor's policy, viewed in this light, acquires a different meaning from that usually assigned to it, and he appears to be far more an energetic leader of a large and undisciplined community than the head of the universal brotherhood of the churches. It means, also, that the traditional conviction that he was the first Bishop of Rome who explicitly claimed the papal prerogative, needs a very careful reconsideration. The further pursuit of this problem is, however, outside the province of this article, the aim of which is to analyse the accuracy of Eusebius' interpretation of this conflict.

Oulton and Lawlor, in their study of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, made some very important observations upon Eusebius' skilful use of original sources in support of his own points of view, which were often strongly coloured by the controversies of his own day.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eus., *H.E.*, IV, 14, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Eus., *H.E.*, V, 15 and V, 20, 1. See also *Liber de Praescriptionibus adversus Haereticos* Migne, P.L. + II, col. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius*, Vol. II, p. 22 seq., 29. (London, 1928).

It is probable that Eusebius' description of the Paschal Controversy is another example of his use of Church history as a means of combating his contemporary opponents.

The present text of the Ecclesiastical History dealing with the Paschal Controversy, reveals such an obvious inconsistency between Eusebius' personal commentaries on it and the direct meaning of the original document, which he is quoting in support of his version, that the general question as to its trustworthiness must naturally be raised. Let us examine, therefore, the existing text, comparing these divergent parts of it.

Eusebius begins his narrative of the Paschal Controversy with a description of the conciliar movement which spontaneously sprang up in the different provinces of the Catholic Church. He mentions a large number of synods and assemblies of bishops discussing the Paschal question.<sup>1</sup> He does not suggest that any particular event or person provoked this conciliar movement, and merely says that "All with one consent, through mutual correspondence, drew up an ecclesiastical decree, that the mystery of the resurrection of the Lord should be celebrated on no other, but the Lord's day (Eus. *H.E.*, V, 23, 2). He ends his 23rd chapter with the following optimistic statement: "And that which has been mentioned above was their unanimous decision" (Eus. *H.E.*, V, 23, 3).

The 24th chapter introduces the reader to quite a new set of events. Its first verse says, "But the bishops of Asia, led by Polycrates, decided to hold to the old custom handed down to them" (Eus. *H.E.*, V, 24, 1). In order to explain this attitude of opposition, Eusebius quotes extracts from Polycrates' letter addressed to the Roman community.<sup>2</sup> This first original document preserved by Eusebius contains two very important

<sup>1</sup> Eus., *H.E.*, V, 23 (2-3).

<sup>2</sup> Polycrates in this letter makes no mention of Victor. All his words are addressed to the whole Roman community. For instance, "I, therefore, brethren," V, 24, 7; or "And I also Polycrates the least of you all," V, 24, 6; and finally "I summoned at *your* desire," V, 24, 8.



statements which considerably change the picture of the conflict drawn by Eusebius himself in the previous chapter. They are (1) the fact that the synod of the Asiatic bishop held at Ephesus, for the purpose of discussing the Paschal question, was summoned at the desire of the Roman community (Eus. *H.E.*, V, 24, 8) and (2) that the Bishop of Ephesus was "not affrighted by terrifying words" (Eus. *H.E.*, V, 24, 7) contained in the letter received from Rome.

After quoting Polycrates' letter Eusebius proceeds to the crucial point of his story, and declares that "Thereupon Victor . . . immediately attempted to cut off from the common unity the parishes of all Asia . . . and he wrote letters and declared all the brethren there wholly excommunicated" (Eus. *H.E.*, V, 24, 9). Unfortunately Eusebius does not give any extracts from these decisive documents, and merely says: "But this did not please all the bishops. And they besought (Victor) to consider the things of peace, and of neighbourly unity and love" (Eus. *H.E.*, V, 24, 10).

As an example of the rebukes which Victor received at that time Eusebius uses the second original document of his collection—the letter sent by Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons. The first part of it Eusebius paraphrases thus, and it confirms his previous statement that Victor excommunicated the Asiatic Churches: "St. Irenaeus fittingly admonishes Victor that he should not cut off whole Churches of God which observed the tradition of an ancient custom" (Eus. *H.E.*, V, 24, 11). But the second part of it, which provides us with the genuine text of Irenaeus' letter, does not contain any further discussion of this excommunication, but is a resolute protest against the condemnation of the Roman Quartodecimans settled in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we have before us two separate accounts of the Paschal Controversy, representing it under very different aspects. One is given by Eusebius himself, and the other by the fragments of the two original documents which he quotes

<sup>1</sup> See La Piano, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* (Rome, 1925), p. 222.

in support of his own version, but which in reality leaves it without any direct confirmation. These two versions may be presented in parallel columns, as follows:—

## EUSEBIUS.

(a) Eusebius represents the various Synods which met to discuss the Paschal question as the result of a spontaneous movement which sprang up inside the Catholic Church. He does not mention either a particular event or a person who provoked the new outburst of the controversy.

(b) Eusebius describes the excommunication of all the Quartodeciman churches by Victor, and refers to St. Irenaeus' letter as a proof of it.

(c) Eusebius quotes Polycrates' letter as showing the revolt of the Asiatic bishops against the common decision of all the churches.

## THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT.

Polycrates' letter points to the Roman community as the initiator of the synodical movement.

St. Irenaeus' letter in reality deals with the conflict between Victor and the Roman Quartodecimans which is never mentioned by Eusebius himself.

In his letter Polycrates mentions at the same time the "terrifying words" received from Rome and her request that a synod should be summoned. These two statements preclude the interpretation which Eusebius put upon this letter in his use of it. It can be properly understood only as the protest of the Asiatic churches against the excommunication by a Roman Synod of their brothers settled in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident that we have to choose between these two versions and that the preference should be given to the one which is supported by Polycrates' and Irenaeus' letters. The reason for this is not only that it has behind it the authority of the original documents, but also that it provides us with a very reasonable explanation of the causes of the whole conflict, whilst Eusebius' narrative presents us with a number of insoluble problems.

<sup>1</sup> See Note attached to this article

It is, however, impossible to reject completely and immediately Eusebius' version, for he was a man of such ability as to exclude the possibility of his making a mere blunder. Moreover, he had at his disposal a number of other documents which are lost and which might support his version. The final judgement regarding the trustworthiness of Eusebius' narration could only be given if we find out the reason for the contradiction between Eusebius and the original documents. There are two possible solutions of the discrepancy contained in the present text of the Ecclesiastical History. The first solution is to explain it as the result of Eusebius' profound misunderstanding of the real intention of the original documents; the second, as his deliberate attempt to use the Paschal Controversy as a weapon against his contemporary adversaries.

There is a good deal to be said in favour of the first theory. Eusebius was separated from Victor's time by a deep gulf of two centuries, and the feeling of historical perspective was a thing unknown to most ancient historians. Thus it seems very probable that he was unable to grasp the real meaning of the documents which he had in his hands and he interpreted them in terms familiar to his own day. This solution, although it undoubtedly contains a certain amount of truth, cannot alone provide us with a satisfactory explanation of Eusebius' attitude to his original documents. He selected his quotations from them so carefully, and he was so explicit in his main conclusions that a mere misreading cannot account for the contradictions of the present text. It means that we are obliged to consider the second alternative explanation, namely the one which implies Eusebius' deliberate desire to represent the Paschal Controversy in a form suitable for his own controversy with the Quartodecimans of the fourth century. Eusebius' biography, as we know it at present, provides us with some important facts strongly supporting the last explanation.

The question as to the uniformity of the celebration of Easter Day was not an academical problem, but a most bitter

point of contention among the Christians at the time when Eusebius was writing his history. Although L. Duchesne<sup>1</sup> has proved that the Asiatic Churches of the second century had a different peculiarity from the Quartodecimans of the fourth century, yet it is more than probable that this fact was unknown to Eusebius and other Christians of his time; at least there is not any slightest indication that he was aware of it. It means that the two stages of the Paschal conflict were probably considered as integral parts of the same controversy, especially since they were raising exactly the same question; namely, whether or not local Churches were right in preserving their ancient traditions in the celebration of Easter. Two opposite answers were given to this question, and the parties which supported each of these propositions held essentially the same position in the second century as in the fourth century. Eusebius was one of the leaders of those Christians who insisted upon uniformity, and as we know he displayed great activity in suppressing the Quartodecimans of his own day. Thus the Quartodecimans of the second century were his definite doctrinal opponents. Probably the main reasons for Eusebius' zeal in combating their error was Constantine's particular interest in the Paschal Question, for the Emperor was very specially anxious to induce all the Churches to celebrate Easter on the same day. It has to be remembered that the Council of Nicæa, in the Emperor's mind, had, for its main task, the decision as to the right day of Easter. This supposition is strongly supported by the fact that Constantine, in his epistle addressed to the Churches after the close of the Council, speaks at a great length about the Paschal Question, and pays less attention to the problems raised by Arianism.<sup>2</sup>

Eusebius, who threw his lot in with the Emperor and who was the most uncompromising supporter of Constantine's policy of ruling the Church naturally shared the Emperor's point of view on the question of Easter.

<sup>1</sup> L. Duchesne, *La Question de la Paque*, pp. 5-22. *Revue des Quest. Historique*, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> Eus., *Vit. Con.*, III, 14-17; Theodor H.E., I, 9.



The amount of interest which Eusebius displayed in this matter is shown by the fact that he even published a special book dealing with the same question.<sup>1</sup>

The Quartodecimans of the second century were, therefore, the same kind of obstinate insubordinate people for Eusebius as those with whom Constantine and he himself had to deal in their own time and who caused so much trouble. Eusebius' profound dislike of the Quartodecimans is very clearly expressed in his description of the conflict between Victor and the Quartodecimans of the second century. For instance, he never calls their tradition "apostolic," but only "old,"<sup>2</sup> although he knows that it had an apostolic origin.<sup>3</sup> In the case of Blastus Eusebius calls the Quartodeciman tradition an "innovation"<sup>4</sup> which is obviously absurd, and in another passage he goes so far in his prejudices against them as to describe their customs as heterodox.<sup>5</sup> All these instances are an important indication that Eusebius was very far from being impartial towards the conflict of the second century and that he took a definite party attitude towards it. It is possible, therefore, to suppose that he would naturally use this case as a suitable opportunity for combating the errors of the Quartodecimans in general and for attacking his contemporary Quartodecimans in particular.

It has to be always remembered that Eusebius' attitude towards history was frequently didactic, and the modern ideal of impartiality was not shared by the father of ecclesiastical history. If this was so, the question arises as to what use could Eusebius make of the documents which he possessed. The answer to this is that Eusebius, being of a conservative type of mind, would be particularly interested in proving that the condemnation of the Quartodecimans pronounced by the

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliot. Nova Patrum*, + IV, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Eus., *H.E.*, V, 24, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Eus., *H.E.*, V, 24, 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> Eus., *H.E.*, V, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Eus., *H.E.*, V, 24, 9.

Councils of Arles and Nicæa were not a novelty introduced under Constantine's influence, but the repetitions of an act which the bishops of the second century had already solemnly performed. At the same time he would naturally be inclined to describe this action in terms familiar to his own time.

As a matter of fact that is exactly what we find in his description of the Paschal Controversy, and the picture of it drawn by him therefore represents the Church of the second century governed by a well organised body of bishops, the ideal so widely spread among the Eastern prelates of the fourth century. We must not, however, exaggerate the amount of deliberate deception introduced by Eusebius into his narrative. It is quite possible that he was incapable of understanding the real issues of the conflict, for the possibility of the existence of the almost independent Quartodeciman community in Rome in the second century was a fact probably difficult of comprehension to an Eastern bishop of the fourth century. Having, therefore, at his disposal documents dealing with the condemnation of certain Quartodecimans by a Roman synod, Eusebius presented this material in a way which suggested to his readers that the Quartodecimans suffered general condemnation at this synod of the second century, and that it took a form of excommunication of all their Churches by the leading bishop of his time—Victor of Rome. This is the simplest explanation of the strange inconsistency between Eusebius' own version and the facts related in the original documents dealing with this conflict. If this theory is right, an important step towards a better understanding of Church life during the second century can be achieved, and a lasting historical misunderstanding brought to an end.

The Paschal Controversy has always been described as the result of Victor's ambitious desire to dominate over all other Churches. The very forms under which this intention was presented made the development of the Church appear revolutionary and spasmodic, in as far as it presupposed a central organisation of the Church existing in the second

century, which was again suddenly lost in the course of the following period.

All these contradictions disappear, however, when we begin to look at this period not through the eyes of the fourth century but in the light of the original documents.

The true reason for this conflict was an attempt of the majority of the Roman Christians to induce their Quartodeciman brethren settled at Rome to celebrate Easter on the same day with them. They failed to do this and the Quartodecimans, under the leadership of Blastus, temporarily separated themselves from the rest of the Roman community.

The Churches in Gaul and Asia Minor sent their energetic protests against this policy of the Roman Church, but the other communities supported the latter.<sup>1</sup> That is all that relates to the original documents. Everything which implies Victor's desire to govern the other Churches belongs to Eusebius himself, and, as we have tried to prove, it is a direct result of his deliberate attempt to show the universality of the condemnation of the Quartodecimans pronounced by the Church of the second century.

The revision of the traditional interpretation of the Paschal Controversy is a further step towards the rediscovery of the past history of the Church as it was in reality and not as it seemed to be to later Christians. There is a strange paradox in the fact that Eusebius' effort to provide Constantine's policy with a suitable historical precedent eventually achieved quite a different object and became an important proof of the early origin of papal claims over the rest of the Church, and thus he has become a supporter of an institution with which he himself had little sympathy. At the same time it would be unfair to deduce that this new interpretation of the Paschal Controversy is an argument against Roman Catholic doctrine in general. The belief in the infallibility of the successor of Peter does not depend on the historical

<sup>1</sup> Eus., *H.E.*, V, 25.

question whether or not Victor of Rome made an attempt at excommunicating the Churches of Asia Minor.

He was one of the most outstanding bishops of Rome of his time and he has an important place in the gradual growth of the institution of the Papacy. His activity, however, was that of a bishop of the second and not of the fourth century and his synod could, under his energetic leadership, excommunicate a part of its own congregation; but it is more than probable that Victor, like the rest of the Christians of his day, was unaware of the possibility of a case in which a self-governing local Church could be separated from the body of Christ by a decision of a local synod of another congregation and still less by a letter from a foreign bishop.

N. ZERNOV.

#### NOTE.

### THE PLACE OF THE SYNODICAL MOVEMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PASCHAL CONTROVERSY.

EUSEBIUS begins his description of the Paschal Controversy with a very impressive list of a large number of synods discussing the same problem in all parts of the world. Their real purpose is, however, not explained by Eusebius, and yet they are the key to the understanding of the relations between various local Churches as they existed in the second century. In order to understand the reason for them we must go back to the very beginning of Church history.

St. Clement's epistle already shows us that a disturbance in the life of a local community usually provoked a keen reaction in the other Churches, each of which, feeling itself responsible for the peace of the whole Church, tried to bring about an agreement between the conflicting parties. The Churches were quickly informed of the beginning of a conflict



in any one of them through their frequent exchange of letters, and by the same means they helped each other to restore unity and concord. Particularly in cases where a group of Christians had been excommunicated for some doctrinal reason, the interference of the other Churches was inevitable.<sup>1</sup> The Church was one body and the same Holy Spirit breathed through all her members. She did not yet possess one central institution or organ which could speak in God's name for the whole Catholic Church. This privilege was bestowed on each local community ruled by its own local synod. The unanimous decision of such a Christian gathering was considered as the authentic expression of God's will; and this decision, therefore, though made by a local Church, had the authority of an inspired ordinance, and was applicable to all the other Churches. The other communities, however, were also in direct communion with the Holy Ghost, and a decision made by any one Church had to be approved and sanctioned by all the sister Churches before it became a universally recognised rule. Only when all the communities, one after another, had unanimously rejected some teaching or discipline, could the Christians be sure that this condemnation was really the will of God.<sup>2</sup> For in such a case it was clear that the scattered Christian congregations, all voting independently, must be obeying the same divine voice. The synodical movement provoked by the Paschal Controversy can be rightly under-

<sup>1</sup> See the animated correspondence between Egypt, Rome, Africa, and Asia about the excommunication of Novatian and his supporters. Eus., *H.E.*, VII, Ch. 2-5, St. Cypr. Eps. 69-75. There was a similar procedure in the case of Origen's condemnation by Demetrius of Alexandria. They both appealed to other Churches and each was supported by some and disapproved by others. Eus., *H.E.*, V, 8-4, VI, 23, 4, VI, 36, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The best illustration of this practice is given by the rejection of Montanism by various local Synods. See Eus., *H.E.*, V, 16. Exactly the same method is applied in the case of Novation. St. Cyprian describes it in the following way: "Novatian has been repelled and rejected and excommunicated by God's priests throughout the world." E.p 68, (I). Eusebius closely follows him. "The Churches everywhere had rejected the novelty of Novatus, and were at peace among themselves." *H.E.*, V, 3.

stood only in the light of this conception of the relations between the decision of local synods and the will of the Holy Ghost.

The condemnation of the Roman Quartodecimans by a Roman synod<sup>1</sup> was bound to raise a wave of strong excitement in the most distant parts of the Christian world. The main reason was that the Roman synod condemned in the name of God a tradition which was accepted by many leading communities and had direct apostolic authority behind it. The deep respect which the Church of the second century already felt for everything which bore the name "Apostolic" was in itself a sufficient cause for this resentment.<sup>2</sup> And to this was added the passionate defence of this custom by a strong body of Christians who were scattered in many parts of the world.<sup>3</sup>

The two original documents quoted by Eusebius can be properly understood if they are read as answers received from Ephesus and Lyons to the synodical letter from the Roman community. In this epistle it was probably stated that the Roman Quartodecimans had been accused as Judaizers and, after their refusal to submit, had been excommunicated. The Roman synod asked the other Churches to approve this decision and to convoke local synods to confirm it. Polycrates' letter is a direct answer to this request. The Asiatic Christians held a synod and rejected the Roman verdict, insisting that the Quartodecimans' practice was an apostolic tradition and could

<sup>1</sup> This Synod is mentioned by Eusebius, "And there is also another writing extant of those who were assembled at Rome . . . which bears the name of Bishop Victor." Eus., *H.E.*, V, 23, 2.

<sup>2</sup> La Piano, *op. cit.*, 235-337.

<sup>3</sup> The campaign started by the Roman community against the Apostolic tradition of the Quartodecimans was enormously facilitated by the fact that the latter were accused as Judaizers. The general animosity of the Christians against the Jews secured to the latin majority of the Roman Christians the support of other churches, as well as the final overthrow of the Quartodecimans' custom. Compare Eus. V. Con. III, 18. Constantine's arguments against the Quartodecimans.

never be condemned. The "terrifying words" which did not frighten the Asiatic Christians were the news that their brothers in Rome had been excommunicated as Judaizers.

Only this approach to Polycrates' letter can solve the contradictions contained in its present text. According to the traditional interpretation of the Paschal Controversy it was either an answer to Victor's enquiry<sup>1</sup> concerning the various ways of celebrating Easter, or a reply to his edict of excommunication against all the Quartodeciman communities. The first explanation is contradicted by the mention of those "terrifying words" which obviously were out of place in an enquiry, and moreover the summoning of a synod was hardly necessary in this case. If information was all that was needed, Polycrates, as well as all the other bishops, could provide the Roman Church with full details concerning their customs without recourse to a synod. The second explanation is also unsatisfactory. The fact that in their letter the Roman Christians asked Polycrates to summon a synod makes it impossible that they should at the same time have announced that they had already excommunicated the Asiatic communities. St. Irenaeus' letter, too, can best be understood as a reply to a similar communication from Rome. He writes on behalf of a local synod of the parishes in Gaul,<sup>2</sup> and begins with a general statement that the Church does not possess any uniform rule concerning the celebration of Easter. He then proceeds to an account of their local conditions, and declares that in Gaul, too, they have Quartodecimans, but that they all "live in peace with one another and the disagreement in regard to the fast confirms the agreement in the faith" (Eus. *H.E.*, V, 24, 13). His further arguments refer to the past tradition of the Roman Church, and he mentions five of Victor's predecessors as examples of tolerance to the Asiatic customs inside the Roman community. Irenaeus does not approve personally of the Asiatic tradition, but he does not find any reason for its condemnation, considering as legitimate and inevitable the

<sup>1</sup> That is La Piano's point of view. *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Eus., *H.E.*, V, 23, 2.

divergency of the manner of fasting even within the same local congregation.

Viewed in this light, the synodical movement which was provoked by the Paschal Controversy becomes a striking manifestation of the Christians' deep sense of unity and mutual responsibility. Nothing in it indicates an attempt at domination on the part of the Roman Church. On the contrary, it shows her keen desire for the support and advice of the other communities. All alike appear to enjoy complete equality. The parishes of Gaul, or a Christian community at Osrhoene, speak with the same confidence as the great Churches of Rome or Ephesus and all have the same importance in the sight of God.

The last point which ought to be mentioned here is the question whether or not the local conflict in Rome eventually resulted in a temporary suspension of intercommunion between the Roman Christians and their Asiatic brethren who supported their fellow Christians settled in the West. We do not possess at present any real proof for or against this supposition. However, if even this breach of the brotherly relationship took place it could not be described as excommunication launched by Victor against the Asiatic Churches. For this term used by Eusebius is borrowed by him from a different period of the relationship amongst local Churches.<sup>1</sup> Thus although the question about the breach of intercommunion must remain open, yet there are several oblique indications against the accuracy of Eusebius's statement, even understood as a temporary suspension of intercommunion. The most important among them is the fact that both St. Cyprian and Firmilian considered St. Stephen's threats of suspending intercommunion between Rome and the rebaptising Churches as a most revolutionary procedure which had no precedent in the past history of the Church.<sup>2</sup> This attitude could hardly be possible if

<sup>1</sup> There is no single document dating from the first three centuries which implies the right of one community to excommunicate another independent local church.

<sup>2</sup> St. Cyprian. Ep. 75 (6, 25).



these two outstanding Church leaders knew something about Victor's similar action in regard to the Quartodecimans of his own time. Firmilian's witness is particularly important, for he even mentions the Paschal Controversy in his letter addressed to St. Cyprian, but from the context it appears very clearly that he was completely unaware of Victor's so-called "excommunication of the Asiatic Churches" although he himself lived in the same part of the world.<sup>1</sup>

N. Z.

<sup>1</sup> Firmilian writes: "But that they who are at Rome . . . vainly pretend the authority of the Apostles anyone may know also from the fact that concerning the celebration of Easter . . . there are some divergencies among them." St. Cyp., Ep. 75 (6) Thus Firmilian only knows about the conflict inside the Roman community.

## ART. III.—TWO EXCUSES FOR MODERN IRRELIGION.

THE invention of the word “agnostic” has been ascribed to T. H. Huxley. It came into use especially at the Universities and survives to the present day, though not so frequently heard as it was in 1870. It was supposed at first to designate one who firmly believes that the arguments for and against Christianity, or indeed Theism, are so finely balanced that many individuals find it impossible to decide between them. These, therefore, concluding that the claims of revealed religion may rationally be ignored, base the conduct of life on a foundation either of permanent doubt (as far as the claims of the Unseen World and of Eternity are concerned) or of absorption in the claims of this present world.

Now such a conduct of life, which of course is exceedingly common, may be and often has been criticised from the moral point of view as being unjustifiable unless a condition is fulfilled which in practice is habitually ignored. The former of the two hypotheses just stated is nonsense unless the individual in question has given much earnest study to the question, How is my theory that the presentation of the Gospel by Jesus Christ is deeply unconvincing, compatible with my conviction that his teaching is by far the most sublime thing of its kind that has ever been heard? For it is undeniable that from beginning to end of his ministry he emphasised to the utmost the paramount importance for his hearers that they should believe in him; that is, in his claims, his teaching and example. How, then, can that character be admired if he along with this challenge uniformly insisted on doctrines which to multitudes of serious-minded people are too doubtful to be worth troubling about?

There is a plain challenge to the moral honesty of the present generation. We live in days when everyone of those

"who pass by" is encouraged to prate, orally or in writing, about the eternally interesting questions prompted by man's consciousness of an unseen world. A mass of criticism is directed against the Church, against unspecified tradition, against Theism and the gaps in the social teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. But amid the general hubbub when everyone seems bent on following his own predilections, that is, to eliminate suffering out of life, angrily deriding meantime any councillor who speaks of our "setting our affections on things above," one lonely Figure remains in majestic supremacy, unassailed, untouched by calumny, criticism and scorn: the Figure of the Man of Sorrows who showed that the only true life is in its purpose and intention the very contrary of that to which the multitude has at all times been wedded: namely, the life of self-gratification and pride. The air to-day is alive with vituperation against the principles which Christ taught, and the nations make no disguise of their disobedience to his moral demands. Yet they dare not attempt to disparage his character or to disprove his words. But they are content to ignore them on the ground that no clear unbiassed mind can rationally adopt any attitude towards his claims but that of respectful indecision. That at any rate was the fashionable excuse in academic circles fifty years ago and in substance it still survives far and wide.

Much might be and has been urged from this moral point of view, as to the slothfulness and cowardice which constrain us to pay unstinted homage to the Person of Christ while we close our ears to his warnings concerning riches and the judgment to come. We do both. We reverence the doctrine and then mutilate it; mostly without troubling to formulate an excuse: did not Huxley provide us with a title which shifts the responsibility for this self-contradiction on our Maker? For that is the plain meaning of "agnosticism." Man answers to the Divine offer of eternal life: "I am so constituted that I cannot make up my mind whether there is anything in it or not." We have to consider how far this plea can be called rational. If it is rational, then it needs no defence from the

moral side. But if it is irrational and self-contradictory, it is open to the gravest condemnation.

A homely fable may make the point clear. Two men lose their way hopelessly in a vast forest, and after many hours' walking, nearly fainting with hunger they come upon a shanty with a loaf of bread and some water on the table, no occupant being discernible. Both are scientifically minded and have schooled themselves not to act on assumptions which cannot be proved. One—A—stoutly affirms "there is no proof that the loaf is real bread, or if it is that it has not been poisoned." The other—B—says: "I admit that; but I am going to eat of it all the same." What is the difference between A and B which accounts for their conduct?

As regards the rationality of the two men, we might suppose that the pains of hunger are not felt by them in exactly equal measure. But far more confidently it may be said of them that one—B—has learnt a valuable practical lesson from his experience: viz., that ultimately the reasons for our actions are never real certainties, though we often call them so: but only probabilities. Now, if that is so, both B and A have since their childhood again and again acted upon a probability, without waiting for a certainty; in fact, several times every day. How is it, then, that while A has hesitated to apply the principle on the present occasion, B has not? The answer must be that for some hidden reason A, knowing what was at stake, did not care. He did not desire, as B did, to live.

We hark back again to our "agnostic," and note at once where the illustration seems to break down. The "agnostic" is concerned with an alternative in regard to which, whichever course he adopts, he must act upon an assumption. But whereas for A and B the necessity for decision and action is so evident that a little child could understand it, in respect of the claims of religion there is nothing evident. In fact the more rational a man is the less likely he is in regard to religion to make any decision at all.



Granted. But in so far as reasoning enters into the matter, the illustration will hold. Both A and B in different ways acted on an unprovable assumption: B, that life and health depended on his "going for" the loaf of bread without delay: A, that whether that were so or not, it did not really matter whether he did anything or nothing. But that in itself is an assumption and it is certainly unprovable. Now, no less than A, the "agnostic," in refusing to act, acts all the time on this same unprovable assumption. A contradicts his scientific creed. The "agnostic" contradicts the title which he has adopted.

The question then arises if, in the case of the two men, A and the "agnostic," there is not a further indictment to be made against their conduct. There certainly is against A. Any man of common sense would say that he, in acting or deciding not to act, showed himself to be not only irrational but insane. That indictment holds if there is any probability, however faint, that the loaf in the cupboard is bread. There is a general consensus that to ignore the instinct of self-preservation is insanity: because our temporal physical life is held to be not only precious but sacred. Can it be that the "agnostic," the pure rationalist, in a similar way is mad? This question—which itself sounds absurd—can be answered if we apply our fable strictly. A's conduct is impossible to conceive of unless (a) he knew there was not the faintest probability of the loaf being bread: or unless (b) he was determined on suicide. In the one case we should call him a fool: in the other mad.

Similarly the "agnostic," in refusing to pray or worship or to give any further thought to religion, either (a) assumes the affirmations of the Christian Creed to be entirely false, or (b) he doesn't care whether they are or not: that is to say, whether eternity is or is not a fact and whether there is or is not any particular difference between Heaven and Hell. Confront him with (b) and he will take refuge in (a) and *vice versa*. But it is conceivable that he has persuaded himself there is nothing interesting or in the least important in the

question whether our Creator cares for us or not: whether he acts or not: whether, in short, he is anything more to us than the shadow of an idea: a vaporous mist arising from the humid depths of our own minds which, as soon as the heat of ordinary experience beats upon it, floats away and is no more seen.

There seems, then, nothing to be said for this unaccountable repudiation of what *all* religious people in some form or other believe to be an offer from our Creator of eternal salvation.

Perhaps the most honest plea that we have heard more than once advanced by educated middle-aged men was tersely worded by a very egoistical person fifty years ago—"I have no ear for God." That is, our rationalistic friend might reply to our questions that the matter is far less simple than the problem set to A and B, and that while he admits that A's conduct is insane, he denies that it is *in pari materia* with his own. Moreover, that while it would be impossible to find anyone acting so crazily as A did, thousands of quite sensible men treat the claims of Christianity as he does himself. The conduct of A is impugned not because it is irrational but because it is absurdly imprudent. A's case differs from the "agnostic's" because it would be perfectly evident to him what was at stake: The pangs of hunger are the plainest intimation of the threat of death. But in the sphere of religion there is no evidence of any such threat; no craving which is insistent and cannot be satisfied. The "agnostic" might say: "You invite me to allay a hunger which I do not feel, by a remedy which I cannot understand."

We note that this *apologia* for an irreligious life is less professedly logical than a strictly "agnostic" one: and for that reason, probably, would be felt by the "man in the street" to be more germane to the matter in hand. We are, in short, leaving the small group of intellectualists, and find ourselves confronted by the multitude who, whether in ignorance or wittingly, have foregone any attempt not only to practise the

Gospel but to understand it. Can that be said of the "agnostic"?

It is undeniable that the right desire in the matter of religion is not, in his case, a strong natural appetite, the snubbing of which is keenly painful: but a spiritual aspiration which to all men is very difficult to interpret, and by some of them is not felt. In the case of the latter it would seem that to ignore the challenge of Christianity is not imprudence but common sense.

The defence of agnosticism which we have now reached is more satisfactory than the previous one with which we started. Instead of postulating a judicial estimate of the situation which is found on examination to be delusive, we are up against a logically unassailable desire: a choice, in fact, between two offers: the one made by Christianity which to the enquirer is vast but unintelligible: the other made by the world which promises immediate gain, most seductive, alluring and apparently attainable, demanding just enough ingredient of effort in it to commend it to right-thinking people. We live in a country which is still free: why, then, should not any individual who prefers the bird in hand to several in the bush, guide his life on the principle of *carpe diem*?

Now at first this question would seem out of date. *Carpe diem*, it might be said, is a motto for a self-indulgent life; such a life as was flaunted before the eyes of the public as late as mid-Victorian days, and when the pastimes of undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge were not untruly represented by such a farce as *Charley's Aunt*. Pleasure-seeking of the old-fashioned sort has been generally decried and is nearly extinct.

Undoubtedly a great change in outward behaviour is to be discerned. It appears that from the very same classes who used to pursue pleasure openly many hundreds of men and thousands of women are zealously working without remuneration for the betterment of a disordered world. Nobody denies that this means an immense improvement manifest especially since the War in far more friendly relations between employers

and employed, and a more equable distribution of wealth. Moreover, several of our leading Churchmen have led the way in social reform: and it seems as if the amount of time and energy demanded of social workers is steadily increasing. Must we not, then, infer that the time given to Church attendance and even private prayer should be in many cases curtailed?

Before drawing this inference it would be well to recall two central precepts of Christ's concerning the conduct of human life. For we are discussing the perplexities of well-intentioned baptised Christians who genuinely profess the utmost reverence for the Saviour's teaching and example. The central precepts are these. When the Jews asked the Saviour what should we do to work the works of God? the answer was: "Believe on him whom he hath sent." That is: "Whatever line of practical action you adopt, your first task is to do your best to believe in my claims: let them more and more govern your lives, your hopes and your relaxation with your fellow-men." That is the demand Christ makes on his hearers, expressed in its most explicit form. The other is the familiar answer to the question, "Which is the first and great Commandment?"

It must be admitted that these two precepts are not only not fulfilled but are frankly ignored by those who allow themselves without more than a passing regret to forego the worship of God on the plea that their social service does not allow them time. The simplest reflexion on the situation makes it plain that if our Creator has revealed by the Incarnation himself as our Redeemer, Life-Giver and Judge, our Lord's words about the first Commandment become not only intelligible but inevitable. Love among men and women always yearns for reciprocity, but when revealed as it has been by God, it demands the surrender of the whole being. Further, that if to grow in the love of God is the main duty of our lives—in short, the purpose for which we were created, we cannot be trying to fulfil the behest unless we practise personal communion with God. Christ's words and his actions emphatically declare that the true life is only lived by those who with steadfast perseverance *seek* their Heavenly Father; and continue seeking him



"through all the changes and chances of this mortal life." The upshot of which is that no occupation or pastime or professional strenuousness is to distract us from that personal unintermittent union with him into which by baptism we have been engrafted; and in which the Spirit enables us to abide, and, according to our desire, become partakers of Life Eternal.

Prayer and worship are so undeniably a condition of seeking after God that very few people, it may be presumed, abandon these practices of piety without hesitation. They are urged to do so by stress of circumstance and imperious voice of fashion. What keeps them back is their genuine veneration for the human Christ and the example of the saints who have combined the most faithful discharge of practical duty with the secret persevering approach to their ever-present Maker and Redeemer. If Christ had used any form of words which hinted at any other method of "being good," there might have been some faint excuse for the notion that a child of God can reach Heaven by entangling himself in the things of earth: can love God more and more by holding converse with him less and less. We may go further and say that converse means listening as well as speaking. If this were borne in mind by Western Europeans how different would be the state of the world to-day! Again, how platitudinous is the conclusion to which we have been driven; and yet how generally it is flouted in practise! The excuse of social service is indeed most beguiling and deceptive. Most men and nearly all women are moved by compassion to alter some things in our surroundings; they cannot continue as otiose spectators of widespread calamity; and further they find men of real holiness giving themselves to social work. What they know nothing of is the persistent undercurrent of devotion, prayer and praise to God in the midst of the turmoil, the allurements, the distractions and naughtinesses of our daily lives.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It will be asked on what evidence is it assumed that private prayer is being discontinued. I should mention, as only one of several rough statistical statements, the report of a Preparatory School master as to the sons of the higher professional class: that seven out of ten come to his school at eight years old having been

The warning God utters and for which we ought to be, like the Psalmist, thankful, is the terrifying information furnished daily of a world sinking into chaos; the direct result of our frenzied eagerness to build up a civilisation without God.

But our purpose in suggesting these considerations is not homiletic but only explanatory. The true diagnosis of the confusion is that each generation fashions for itself a new pretext for rejecting God and ignoring his law. Half a century ago our intellectual *élite* found consolation for their souls' emptiness in Huxley's hollow formula. It appealed to only a few by reminding them that they were bound to be intellectually honest and never to profess a tenet of which they were not sure. Yet in this very endeavour they had to assume that the challenge of Christianity was irrelevant: that it would make no difference if it were ignored. As the conviction spread that this assumption was patently absurd the title of the sect fell out of use. Meantime, since about 1890, men and women disposed to put God and Eternity from their minds have found a new cloak for their wilfulness in the growing necessities of a society drifting towards ruin. They begin to feel that nothing can save us now but the Divine power which—they have been told—is always ready to act for our salvation on condition that we men desire it and ask for it. But it has come about that coincidently with this state of things civilised man has agreed to forego the practice of piety; the recognition of the nearness of God (Mt. iv, 17); and the trust in the Pentecostal Gift (John xvi, 13. Cf. also Tit. i, 1<sup>1</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup> The wealth of meaning in this verse requires a paraphrase. "Paul, whose whole life is dedicated in obedience to God; an am-

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taught absolutely nothing; never having heard of the Lord's Prayer or the Name of Jesus. It may be assumed that all the parents of these little ones have ceased to pray. One such statistic—and many more might be adduced—lets down a shaft of lurid light into a wide region of heathenism. Among the working classes, *in addition* to the same proportion, a very large number have learnt to attempt prayer only in the evening.

It may be supposed that the hollowness of our still fashionable plea, that the claims of this world prohibit due consideration of the Unseen, is being irresistibly manifested by the increased confusion. That is so: but a fresh deception is beginning to work stealthily and powerfully and even more disastrously than the other two. As the evidence grows in force of the baneful result of "following our own imaginations" with less and less thought of the Holy Spirit, earnest folk are trying to revive "religion" in order to save civilization. They want to see other people fill the churches and teach their children the very piety which they themselves have renounced, in the dwindling hope that if we worship the Most High in sufficient numbers we may stave off war, increase our exports and persuade our slum dwellers that things are not so bad after all. This delusion, too, will be found out; but as long as we act upon it we are dishonouring our Father's name and it may be that engulfing ruin will be the only remedy.

### CONCLUSION.

THE greatest of all miracles — as was remarked by Father Benson—is that man has the power to resist God. Next to that we may put the continued existence of the Church of Christ, in spite of our schisms, our wrong-headedness and disobedience. We are permitted to see in the relation between these two facts an ordinance of the Creator for our guidance.

bassador from Jesus Christ to men; relying on the faith that is in the elect of God; and on their growth in the Knowledge of Reality which depends on how they commune with God." This translation of ἀλήθεια was, I believe, suggested by Canon G. H. Whitaker. εὐσέβεια would include worship and private prayer; especially preparation for the Sacraments. Readers of Greek will notice the unusual renderings of the recurring proposition κατὰ. Warrant will, I think, be found for them in the article on this word in Moulton and Milligan's invaluable Vocabulary of the New Testament. If teachers and preachers made more of the Apostle's linking together of "growth in the Knowledge of Reality" with εὐσέβεια, the modern fatal decay of private prayer and worship would be checked.

For the more widespread is man's revolt against him, the deeper is the desire among the faithful to vindicate his honour; and from them rises a renewed appeal to Heaven for the Pentecostal Gift. That is the undoing of Satan's work, brought about by the manifestation of his success.

We must not, however, presume that the prayers of the faithful will always be effectual for the fending off of defeat and overthrow. Again and again they have been: but the Lord's prophecies about Antichrist bid us be prepared for an intensification of the purgation which is going on now. That means that we have failed to grasp the lesson of God's judgement which began in 1914: and so ruin is palpably nearer to us now than it was then. The cry goes up from the few: "Show us thy way, O Lord, and teach us thy paths"; but many professing Christians are asking, not that we may rightly interpret chastisement, but that we should be spared it. Yet on right interpretation of what is going on in the world infinite issues depend. The gain of escape from calamity is but for a moment. The reward of learning anew the majesty of the Divine statutes is Eternal Life. Should it be too late, calamity on an unprecedented scale will fall on the civilised nations of the world. We shall think of it as ruin. It will be in truth a new step forward in the drama of man's salvation.

E. LYTTTELTON.



## ART. IV.—BOSSUET AND LEIBNIZ ON REUNION.

1. Bossuet, *Correspondance*. (Les Grands Ecrivains de la France). 1925. T. xii-xiv.
2. Foucher de Careil, *Ouvres de Leibniz*. 1859. 2 Vols.
3. Jordan, *The Reunion of the Churches*. 1927. A Study of Leibnitz and his Great Attempt.

THERE were few movements towards Reunion during the second half of the seventeenth century in which the indefatigable Bishop of Meaux had no share. His labours with Lutherans were extensive, and brought him into relations with very able men on the Lutheran side. Reunion engaged the attention of statesmen as well as of ecclesiastics. The Emperor Leopold, for reasons religious as well as political, was anxious to secure the reunion of adherents of the Augsburg Confession to the Roman Church. He laid a special commission upon Spinola, the Bishop of Neustadt, near Vienna, to concentrate every effort on this design. The Emperor urged in a public letter the great necessity among Christians of perfect union, within the Empire as well as without it, not only in temporal but also in spiritual affairs. To promote this object Leopold announced that he had given full authority and royal protection to the Bishop of Neustadt to treat with all States, Communities, and individuals, of the Protestant Religion within his realms, especially those of Hungary and Transylvania, with a view to secure unity of faith.

The influences behind this movement were mixed in various proportions, political and religious. The Duke of Brunswick had abandoned the Lutheran Confession and conformed to the Roman Church. The Duke of Hanover was diplomatically favourable to Reunion, but the possibility that the succession to the throne of England would fall to a member

of his house exerted a restraining influence on his religious zeal. He was in fact a Protestant, and so was his Duchess. Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, was mother of George I of England. But the future lay as yet in suspense. Her favourite sister, Princess Louise-Hollandine, brought up like herself a Protestant, betook herself to Paris, where she was admitted into the Roman Catholic Church, became a religious, and was made Abbess of the important Convent of Maubuisson. She was extremely eager to induce her sister in Hanover to follow her into the Roman Church. The Abbess was ardently supported in her efforts by another member of her Community, Madame de Brinon, formerly a lady at the French Court. The Abbess urged upon her sister that Bossuet's influence should be brought to bear upon the Movement, and through Madame de Brinon copies of the documents produced on the Lutheran side were sent to the Bishop of Meaux.

The first overture was the work of the German theologian Molanus. The tone of his work was unusually conciliatory, presenting indeed a memorable contrast to the attitude of an earlier time. He drew up a most careful explanation of the principal difficulties felt by Lutherans in the doctrine and devotions of the Catholic Church.

Molanus divided the matters of controversy between Lutherans and Catholics into three classes. The first class consists of differences which may be viewed as verbal and therefore may possibly be solved by fuller explanation. The second class consists of differences in matters which may be regarded as theological opinions. The third and last consists of doctrines which are accepted as essential, and where, therefore, difference appears insuperable.

Among the chief examples are the following. In the first class, consisting of ambiguity in the various terms employed, Molanus places the question whether the Sacrament of the Altar should be called a Sacrifice. On that point both sides were agreed. The question was whether in the strict and proper sense the Eucharist was a Sacrifice. Molanus urges

that the answer depends very much on definition. If sacrifice be defined as the actual shedding of the blood of a living being, as Cardinal Bellarmine on Old Testament analogy defines it, it is obvious that in that sense the Roman Church denies the Eucharist to be a sacrifice. The Eucharist is a Sacrifice in which no Blood is shed. And when the Roman Church defines the Eucharist as a Sacrifice in a true and proper sense, it distinguishes the Eucharist from material offerings, and identifies the Offering in the Eucharist with the Sacrifice on the Cross, including in this identity the Real Presence. Molanus holds that in this sense Protestants can agree that the Eucharist is a true and real Sacrifice. Accordingly it is as clear as light that the controversy on the Eucharistic Sacrifice consists in words and not in the reality itself.

Bossuet's reply was the briefest. If other Protestants agreed with the learned Lutheran we may consider this question settled.

In the second class of controversial differences consisting of matters which Molanus described as theological opinions, that is to say, matters on which in either Church both positive and negative ideas were permitted, the Lutherans placed prayers for the dead and the doctrine about the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

With regard to prayers for the dead, Molanus points out that they are approved by the Roman Church and by a portion of the Protestant Churches. The Augsburg Confession declares that they are lawful. There are Protestants who do not yet approve them. In conference, therefore, Protestants for the sake of peace should be invited to consent to them.

Bossuet's reply is that if a section of Protestants approve of prayers for the dead, and if the rest will agree, as the learned author observes, that they are approved by the Lutherans, agreement with the Catholic belief is being promoted.

Molanus observed that with regard to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, part of

the Roman Church approved it and part rejected it. The entire Protestant Church believed that Blessed Mary, although Most Holy and most filled with grace, was nevertheless conceived in Original Sin. Catholics are therefore to be asked, for the sake of peace and concord, to adhere in a future Assembly to the latter doctrine.

Bossuet's reply is concise and emphatic. Not merely a portion of the Roman Church, but the whole of the Roman Church regards the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin as a matter of indifference, and not pertaining to the faith.

In the third class of divergences between the Protestant Lutherans and the Roman Catholics, that is the class concerned with doctrines which appear to be diametrically opposed, Molanus places Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, Cult of Images, Purgatory, and Primacy of the Roman Pontiff by divine right.

Molanus declared that among those Protestants who believe in the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament and actual reception of that Presence, the method of the presence is not a matter of very great concern. Luther himself regarded the manner of the presence as a minor error or a sophistical discussion, so long as there was no danger of idolatry. Protestants concede, as to the question itself, that there is by consecration a certain change in the elements. But they usually consider the change to be accidental, so that thereby the substance of the bread is not changed, but that it ceases to be common bread and becomes sacred bread, being designated to the most sacred use—namely, the communication of the Body of Christ. Individual Lutherans had occasionally admitted a substantial change. Molanus could not identify himself with that. He thought that the solution lay in accepting the constant language of the Fathers that the bread is the Body of Christ. He held that Roman Catholics should be requested for the sake of peace to leave the question of the mode of Transubstantiation in the Eucharist as incomprehensible and



inexplicable, so long as it was agreed that by some marvellous change the bread became the Body of Christ. Protestants also should be requested not to repudiate the phrase—the bread is the Body of Christ; to recognise that it was universally accepted in ancient times, and that hardly any ancient doctors of the Church could be found who would not have gladly endorsed those words and words like them.

At this stage of the proceedings another important personality appeared on the Lutheran side. Leibniz, the philosopher, who was described by Voltaire as, in intellectual achievements perhaps the most erudite man in Europe, had lived for some years in Paris, and was “deeply impressed with the idea that the disunion of Christendom was disastrous in its political consequences, and that it might and should be ended.” At this stage of the discussion Molanus practically disappears, and is replaced by the far more famous German philosopher. A lengthy and weighty correspondence followed between Leibniz and Bossuet.<sup>1</sup> Leibniz was a formidable antagonist. He raised the question whether the doctrine defined by the Council of Trent was received in France. Bossuet was able to affirm quite definitely that the Church of France accepted without hesitation all the decisions of Trent concerning faith. Leibniz replied that, if it were so it would not follow that the decisions were received as the utterances of an ecumenical Council. The philosopher then produced from public records of the French Government evidence proving its opposition to the decrees of Trent. Bossuet replied that the opposition had never been concerning matters of faith.

Bossuet was also receiving letters from Madame de Brinon. She assured the Bishop that the Lutherans were ruled by political motives and not by religious. She doubted greatly whether Leibniz would leave the Protestants. He was far too clever not to see that there was more superficiality than depth in their overtures. A doctor of the Sorbonne has

<sup>1</sup> This is to be found in the great XVII volume collection of Bossuet's letters, and in Foucher de Careil's *Letters of Leibniz*.

advised her that if these Protestants believe in the Real Presence in the Sacrament in the manner in which Roman Catholics do, and would return to the Church in a spirit of submission to the decision of the future Council for which they ask, no doubt they would be granted what they desire. But they must return like the Prodigal Son, to throw themselves humbly into the arms of their Mother, confessing that they have sinned. The plain speaking of this doctor of the Sorbonne differed widely from the discreter phrases of the Bishop of Meaux.

Madame de Brinon was a most zealous worker in the cause of Reunion. She was useful on many occasions. But she had no idea of her limitations. Her efforts to convert both Leibniz and the Duchess of Hanover were exemplary illustrations of zeal. Writing to Leibniz in February, 1694, she assured him that he was incurring grave danger to his salvation in delaying his conversion to the Roman Church, and implored him not to wait for other people's consciences. Let him come with humility and the Church would receive him with love and charity. If he were a Catholic he would convert the whole of Germany by the influence which he would thereby acquire. Letters appear to have crossed. A year later Leibniz replied appreciating Madame de Brinon's zeal for what she believed to be the truth, but assuring her that he was convinced that what she took for truth was not always of that nature. She considered herself to be in the Church and him to be in schism. But when a Church is excommunicated by another Church, or even when an individual is excommunicated by his Church, the excommunication may be unjust, and then the excommunicated do not cease to be within the Universal Church.

Madame de Brinon next attempted to convert Sophia, Duchess of Hanover. Would she not follow the example of her sister, Abbess of Maubuisson? If only the Duchess were converted she might join her sister in the joys of Paradise. The clever Duchess sent a withering reply. It would be a

great pleasure to her to contribute a little to the Nun's satisfaction. Indeed the reward would not be greater if the Nun were to show her a better way to Paradise than that which the Divine Providence had shown her, and in which it seems to her one should continue when one has not enough capacity to choose a better, nor the time to read all that has been written both for and against. David was content to be a doorkeeper in the House of God, and she did not aspire to a more distinguished trust. Those who are more enlightened than she is may perhaps acquire more eminent places. She understands that in the Father's House there are many mansions. "When you are in yours and I in mine I will not fail to pay you a visit first, and we shall presumably agree, for there will be no longer any disputes about religion." She does not believe that the good God will leave to the Devil the glory of having a kindlier disposition. But that would be apparently the case if only those could be saved who are under the Authority of the Pope and his Council, which is not composed of particularly holy persons.

Undaunted by this rebuff, Madame de Brinon seems to have pleaded yet once again, bringing this time upon herself a less severe but not less effective reply. Duchess Sophia was accessible to sympathy. She appreciates the hopes of her dear sister and of the Convent of Maubuisson. She had no doubt that Madame de Brinon's fervour and desire to place God's creatures in the way of salvation was pleasing to God. "But my dear Madam," continued the irresistible Duchess, "what reason is there that I ought to follow your opinion rather than that you should follow mine?" Turning, however, from these disputable points, the Duchess declared indignantly that what gave her a very bad opinion of Catholics was the treatment of Protestants by the authorities in France. It is a bad religion which authorises so many bad actions. The massacres of St. Bartholomew's Day: the 5th of November in England. Are these the good works which are produced by faith?

Leibniz had read the first replies sent by the Duchess of Hanover to Madame de Brinon. He wrote to the latter to

say that he considered the replies were admirable. "You see, Madam," said Leibniz, "that in the case of enlightened persons nothing can be done without conclusive proofs."

At a later stage Leibniz wrote a diplomatic letter to Bossuet expressing his concern about the disorders in the Roman Church over the question of Madame Guyon. He quite appreciates Bossuet's hesitation to decide until in full possession of the case. But it is a serious drawback to those in Hanover not to have the instruction of the greatest controversialist of their time on the Roman side. Leibniz reminds Bossuet of the legal maxim—" *Qui tacet non quidem ideo consentit, sed tamen verum est eum non negare.*"

By the end of 1698 Leibniz grew discouraged about the prospects of Reunion. He complains to the Duke of Brunswick that the Bishop of Meaux evades the issue, and does not write with his accustomed clearness. There had come a long interval of silence on Bossuet's part. If any thing is to be done, the matter of Reunion must not be left merely in the hands of ecclesiastics. They had learnt by experience in Germany that so long as none but theologians were managers of these matters, they did not advance a single step. But when princes take the matter to heart, and politicians of piety and enlightenment were united with them, reasonable progress could sometimes be made. Leibniz had grown increasingly to distrust the theologians in the cause of Reunion. He cites the case of De Marca, who did great service both to Church and State so long as he was a lawyer, but when he became a prelate, and was ultimately nominated to the Archbishopric of Paris, he mixed the wine with water, and did everything he could to satisfy Rome. Accordingly, Leibniz advised that a lawyer should be selected, to be associated with a Bishop such as Bossuet in the conduct of these negotiations. France occupied in many respects an intermediate position between Protestants and excesses on the Roman side. France was therefore adapted for mediation. If the King of France were seconded by such a prelate as Bossuet, and a suitable statesman,



the royal intention would suffice to scatter all clouds. Bossuet, in spite of his reserve, had plenty of knowledge and sagacity.

In spite, however, of the discouragement which Leibniz felt, he wrote to Prince George Ludwig, Duke of Brunswick, in February, 1699, that even if there was little hope of Reunion in their time, it would still be useful to manifest their good intentions, and not to abandon a project which could not be realised.

It appeared that Cardinal d'Estrées, the French representative in Rome, had written to Bossuet advising him to assure the French King that the project for Reunion was to the interest of the Church. The King had replied that so far from opposing it he was promoting it. Leibniz now felt that there were arguments in favour of continuing negotiations, and against it. But he asked permission from the German Court to continue. He informed Bossuet that he had been obliged to raise the question about the Canon of Scripture because the Bishop had challenged him to say what fault he had to find with the Council of Trent.

In January, 1700, Bossuet assured Leibniz that God revealed no new truths belonging to the Catholic Faith. What was to be accepted was the principle of perpetuity. That is the Catholic rule from which the Church has never departed. There was no necessity to challenge the authority of Apostolic traditions, since Leibniz himself acknowledged that the most accommodating Protestants, that is to say, as Bossuet understood it, not only the most learned but also the wisest among them did not dispute it. But the Bishop's letter grew into a treatise. He elaborated 24 paragraphs on the Canon of Scripture. In an interesting passage Bossuet declared to Leibniz that there is an unlimited number of Articles about the faith which men are at liberty not only to ignore but to deny, so long as men believe that these articles are not revealed. He gave as an example the text about the three Heavenly Witnesses (I St. John, v, 7). He held, however, that the doctrine contained in that passage ought not to be doubted, since it is confirmed not

only by the tradition of the Churches, but by clear evidence in the Scriptures.

Leibniz replied to Bossuet in a treatise of 122 sections on the Canon. The enormous length of the letters on either side was not conducive to unity.

As the seventeenth century was drawing towards its close the tone of the letters which Leibniz wrote to Bossuet underwent considerable alteration. The cautiously deferential language of the earlier period disappeared. The tone became superior: the criticism severe. Leibniz does not hesitate now at this period to assure Bossuet that his customary controversial success has led the bishop to assume the air of victory before he has achieved it. He reminds the Bishop of Meaux that a distinction should be drawn between the style adapted to popular addresses and that adapted for occasions when exact precision is demanded. In popular address rhetoric, pre-supposition, and assumption, are excusable. But not where an opponent expects accurate reasoning.

In yet another letter, of somewhat uncertain date, Leibniz was even more vigorous and unrestrained. He insisted that he had a right to challenge the infallible authority of the decisions at the Council of Trent. He declared that the members of Bossuet's Communion were under a vain delusion if they supposed that a group of little Italian bishops, courtiers and dependents of Rome, ill-instructed, and none too careful of genuine Christianity, were permitted to construct in a corner of the Alps, and in a fashion strongly resented by some of the most serious-minded of their contemporaries, decisions which were of faith for all the Church.

The change of tone between these utterances and the reflections of Molanus is vast, and implied that Reunion was not likely to happen in their days.

Leibniz wrote an important reply to Bossuet on perpetuity of the faith in May, 1701. The Protestant principle, he said, recognised as an Article of the Christian Faith only that which

God has revealed through Jesus Christ and his Apostles. Leibniz was glad to be assured by Bossuet that this principle is or ought to be that of the Roman Communion. But he was obliged to own that the opinion of many doctors of the Roman Church disturbed him. For they held that the Spirit authorised the decisions of the Universal Church. In which case antiquity is not necessary, nor perpetuity. Leibniz refers to George Bull, "learned priest of the Anglican Church," who accused Fr. Petavius the Jesuit of attributing to the Fathers of the Primitive Church errors about the Trinity. Leibniz is also unable to see how, on Bossuet's principles, it could be in the power of the Pope, or of the entire Church, to decide the question of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Leibniz pleads with Bossuet that the question whether a Council is ecumenical or not is a question of fact, and not of faith. And therefore one can be dispensed from obligation to recognise a particular Council as such. While one must not detract from the authority of Councils, this would be done if an attempt is made to pass for ecumenical those which are not.

The correspondence between Leibniz and Bossuet became increasingly desultory. In 1701 Leibniz compiled a letter which became a treatise on the Vulgate and the authority of the Apocrypha. He was, as usual, very learned, and stated the Protestant case with remarkable force and ability. No conclusion was likely to be reached. The eagerness for Reunion diminished on the Lutheran side. The prospects of the House of Hanover in regard to the throne of England became more hopeful as time advanced. Reunion with Catholicism would have utterly frustrated any hope of succession to the English throne. Political motives accordingly prevailed over religious. And the whole movement slowly flickered out. Overtures towards Reunion with Rome were changed into overtures towards Reunion among the Protestant divisions.

In 1702 Leibniz frankly admits that the project can no longer be promoted under Hanoverian approval. England prevents that.

There was a great change in theology among Anglicans, said Leibniz, after the expulsion of James the Second. Leibniz had in view the teaching of William Forbes, Bishop of Edinburgh. Bishop Forbes' *Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae Controversiarum* were published after his death in 1658.

Very few English Churchmen held the doctrine of Bishop Forbes, said Leibniz, writing in 1708. It would render them liable to be suspected of popery, or at least of inclination towards it. The majority of the bishops themselves are no longer regarded as Episcopalian. They differ far less than formerly from Presbyterianism. The Episcopalianism of the Archbishop of Canterbury has become proverbial, ironical. So greatly do opinions vacillate.

A few years later Leibniz writes to the Princess of Wales (about 1716). Now that the Elector of Brunswick, become King of Great Britain, has entered the Anglican Church without having changed his religion, as his Majesty has rightly declared, on occasions, it follows that he considers that the Anglican Church and ours do not differ in religion, but only in rite—that is to say, in ceremonies and unessential doctrines. Moreover, on the other side, said Leibniz, the religion of the Church of Brunswick is the same as the Anglican. The religion of the Reformed Churches of Brandebourg is also the same as the Anglican. The logical mind of Leibniz draws accordingly the conclusion: two Communions which are in agreement with a third are also in agreement with each other. Here, then, urges Leibniz, is the opportunity to terminate, or at least diminish, the divisions between the Protestant Churches. Leaders of the Anglican Church should advise his Majesty to interpose his authority for that purpose. Leibniz advises the Princess of Wales to consider who would be a suitable secret agent to influence the Archbishop of Canterbury. It would not be advisable, Leibniz thinks, to mention the affair to the Bishop of Lincoln, because he was Grand Almoner to the King. In a postscript, Leibniz adds that he has just heard



of the death of the Archbishop, and of the nomination to the Primacy of the Bishop of Lincoln. The new Primate is of an age which promises success if he undertakes it. It was Archbishop Tenison who had died: it was William Wake who succeeded. Leibniz was certainly right in crediting Archbishop Wake with capacity in the work of Reunion. But here, as far as Leibniz was concerned, the matter ends.

Since the discovery of that singular document, *The System of Theology*, which remained concealed for more than a century after Leibniz' death, much debate has arisen as to what his personal convictions in religion really were. The manuscript, in Leibniz' own handwriting, was discovered among the papers of Cardinal Fesch in Rome. It was published in 1819. Its assimilation of Catholic principles created an immense sensation in the religious world. Catholics welcomed it as a conclusive proof of Leibniz' identity with the Catholic Faith. Protestants could not induce themselves to believe that the distinguished Lutheran had composed it. There is no real doubt that the work is Leibniz' own. The explanation appears to be found in Leibniz' view of the proper method for solving controversies in religion. He held that both Protestant and Catholic beliefs should be combined in such a manner that it could not be ascertained to which side of the controversy the writer belonged. Disputed points should be condensed as much as possible. Both sides should be treated in a conciliatory spirit, with a view to promoting Reunion. The work was expressly not intended to reveal the convictions of its author. It was enterprising, tentative and quite impersonal. It was apparently composed largely in reaction from the uncompromising definitions of Bossuet. It has completely mystified many of its modern readers. But there is no proof that its existence was known while its author lived. It was, for whatever reason, buried among Leibniz' private papers and permitted no opportunity to influence the course of controversy until the nineteenth century. It does not, therefore, come into any historic account of the relation of Leibniz to Bossuet.

W. J. SPARROW-SIMPSON.

## ART. V.—A FORGOTTEN HISTORIAN.

IN the writing of history there is much to be said in favour of having an axe to grind. To start upon the task with a definite point of view the truth of which the narrative is undertaken to prove is to bring the mass of fragmentary material within manageable proportions. To be, for example, the victim of an invincible belief, as Macaulay was, that the facts of history were given by divine permission in order to demonstrate the fact that the Whigs were the chosen of God, may beg a good many questions, but at least it results in a readable narrative. For such a belief or obsession, as the case may be, does constitute a necessary fetter of coherence, without which no readable narrative can ever be written. It is, perhaps, because in these days of general disillusion most people seem to find it difficult to adopt any definite point of view with a real interior conviction that narrative history is very much at a discount. Lacking any angle from which to view the multitudinous and ill-assorted facts we find it difficult indeed to reduce their chaos into the imposed order which true narrative history demands.

Bishops, by their very profession, enjoy such a point of view; and the angle from which they look at the enormous stage of human history gives, whether they are right or wrong, a majestic vision. For the Christian's vision of the drama of history is very much the same as Milton's was when he wrote *Paradise Lost*. The Christian sees the world as the stage whereon is set the eternal conflict between God and his angels and the Devil, and views history as the record of the long process by which the love of God, and all that doctrine implies, gradually becomes actual as well as potential among men. Such a vision of history is at least no petty one, and beyond doubt it is the secret lying behind the fact of the long line of episcopal historians, beginning with Papias and Eusebius, and ending, for the time being, with Stubbs and Mandell Creighton.

The episcopal historians are certainly a notable company, but of them all few names are more remarkable, judged by the achievements they represent, than Otto, the twelfth century Bishop of Friesingen. Yet, except for specialists, his name is almost forgotten. Until a few years ago, hardly anyone could be found who had read a single line of his great universal history. Since then an American Professor of Colorado University, C. C. Mierow, has translated and edited *The Two Cities*. Apart from this, there is no English translation of his work; and even still his chronicle of the events of the reign of Frederick Barbarossa awaits a translator and editor. By such a benefactor the task of students of the twelfth century would be much lightened. For to them, Otto of Friesingen is a name which cannot be ignored. For wherever twelfth century history is touched and influenced by the careers and controversies of Abelard, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Arnold of Brescia, there the narrative of Otto is invariably levied under contribution by the historians, who gravely debate whether his testimony in this or that particular can safely be accepted. When the writings of one historian are weighed and pondered by his successors eight hundred years after his death, he has achieved a certain immortality, not less assured on account of the minuteness of the circle in which he is still remembered.

It is, however, rather tragic that Otto should become wholly the sport of the academicians, and that the memory of his name should be dependent upon their not too tender regard. For he is, in fact, very good reading. It is not merely because he deals with the great men and events from the point of view of one who was himself an actor in what is possibly one of the most wholly satisfactory of centuries. It is more because his view of history was that the antics of men and women are part of, and together constitute a dramatic conflict of altogether cosmic proportions of magnificence. Borrowing Augustine's terminology, as became a Cistercian Abbot and a Bishop, he viewed everything as an episode in the prolonged warfare between the Two Cities, the City of God and the City of the World, Jerusalem and Babylon. Thus no stretch of centuries

was so enormous as to daunt his energy, and no little detail of an individual life could be regarded as irrelevant or insignificant. The terms of reference he set himself by his view of what history was were such that nothing whatever in the world of nature, from the infinitely vast to the infinitely small, could ever be irrelevant. His view of the world was that of a vast jigsaw puzzle into which every single isolated fact fitted and made one terrific and glorious pattern.

If Otto was to give any body to this tremendous vision of things plainly he must write nothing less than a universal history of the world. Laying aside the cares of his diocese, and his position as the adviser of his nephew Frederick Barbarossa, he cheerfully set himself to his task. That he would be able to accomplish it did not seem to him the ravings of a congenital and unbalanced optimist. Not a few others had already trodden in the same path and sought to confine the whole of the recorded activities of the human race within the compass of a single volume. After all, has not even H. G. Wells done the same?

And so he began with a prologue in which he explained his purpose

to compose a history whereby through God's favour I might display the miseries of the citizens of Babylon (the worldly city) and also the glory of the kingdom of Christ to which the citizens of Jerusalem are to look forward with hope, and of which they are to have a foretaste even in this life. I have undertaken, therefore, to bring down as far as our own time, according to the ability that God has given me, the record of the conflicts and miseries of the one city Babylon; and furthermore, not to be silent concerning our hopes regarding that other city . . . We are to speak, then, concerning the sorrow-burdened insecurity of the one city and the blessed permanence of the other.

He begins his heavy task very much in the modern way. H. G. Wells began with a famous sentence, "The globe in which we live is a spinning ball"; and Otto, too, sees that man's location must first be fixed. "Writers assert that there are three



parts of the world, Asia, Africa, and Europe. The first of these they account equal in size to the other two. Yet some have declared that there are only two parts, that is, Asia and Europe; Africa, because of its small size, they join to Europe."

But let us refrain from quoting in ridicule. It is not to be expected that Otto's geography should be impeccable, or that his facts should always be correct. It would be easy in this, as in every other medieval document, however remarkable, to find statements which can only provoke a loftily amused derision when quoted apart from their context. He was, as a matter of fact, marvellously free from bias. It may be that the gigantic bias of the general character of his work freed him from the little biases of detail which make most medieval ecclesiastical histories so tiresome. All facts are to be shown as tending in two directions, to show the miseries of Babylon, and, in contradistinction, the blessedness and the gradual victory of Jerusalem. Such a thesis delivers him, for example, from being forced to deliver the Greek philosophers to the flames of hell. If it is true that he repeated the hoary rumour that Plato had met Jeremiah in Egypt and had been instructed by him, it is also true, and much more remarkable, that his summary of Plato's writing is almost exactly the judgement that any modern Churchman would deliver.

He and the other philosophers by natural keenness comprehended the invisible as it were by means of the visible. For all things that could be discovered by human wisdom regarding the nature of God they found out, all except those matters on which ultimate salvation depends. These things are learned through the grace of Jesus Christ by the gentle of heart.

There speaks a man who had performed the unusual feat of blending within himself all that was best in his experience of university and monastery.

*The Two Cities* is naturally not an authority in the historian's sense, and there is no need to follow the winding course which Otto charts through the facts of history. The book is

readily accessible in an English translation, and the casual reader would not find it uninteresting. Needless to say, Otto achieves his purpose, and shows quite clearly "How the divine wisdom, ever conquering evil, 'reacheth from one end of the world to the other with full strength.'" He is, too, splendidly thorough, not leaving his heavy task, which he wrote in considerable physical pain from illness, until he has thoroughly dealt with the geography of both Heaven and Hell, which he does with gusto and at length.

*The Two Cities* may not be altogether a trustworthy document for the bare facts of history, but it is not without its importance for historians. That importance, however, lies more in the parentheses than in the main narrative. To provide an illustration of a point he is making, he includes in his main narrative, as it were between brackets, an excellent little biography of his predecessor in the see of Friesingen, Corbinian, of whom nothing would otherwise be known. And, redeeming his promise to speak of the foretaste of heavenly delights which the citizens of Jerusalem are to enjoy even in this life, he finds them naturally enough among those who, having forsaken the world, had embraced the life of religion in cloistered walls. At once his heart runs away with his sense of historic proportion. He seizes the chance he has deliberately manufactured, and writes a description of the daily round in a Cistercian Abbey so long that it is out of proportion in its length with the space given to the main theme of the book as a whole. But in all the book there are no pages so gravely beautiful as these, and when writing them his pen never once faltered or lost its power to clothe the parchment with prose of grave and serene lyrical beauty.

They think it sinful to let any interval of time pass unoccupied by heavenly matters save only the brief period during which they consign their weary limbs to rest on a mean bed of osiers or a rough blanket; and they carry this so far that, at the very time of bodily refreshment, they are ever intent upon the reading of the Holy Scriptures, preferring to feed the spirit rather than the body.

They all alike abstain from meat. Some, denying themselves all the more delicate foods and abstaining from wine, use for food sometimes pulse, sometimes only bread and water . . .

All the workshops of the various artisans—the bakers, the smiths, the weavers and others—are located within, so that no one of them may have occasion to wander outside. These workmen are very carefully secluded. The entrance door is situated in the outer court. There a devout and holy brother is ever present, welcoming all who come as guests—pilgrims, the poor—with ready goodwill, and though he were receiving Christ himself. Having washed their feet and then zealously bestowed upon them all the other services that human kindness suggests, he conducts them to the oratory and then assigns them to a guest room.

They heal the sick, cast out demons, sometimes through contemplation gain a foretaste of the sweetness of the heavenly country and because of this, although they are worn with toil, wearied by watching and weakened by fasting, yet, like the locusts that chirp the more shrilly when they are famished, the brothers spend almost the whole night in wakefulness singing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.

*The Two Cities* is, in fact, an admirable example of what can be done with history when a writer possesses a ready-made clue to guide him through the complicated tangle of its richly heaped facts, and is therefore made unafraid to tackle the whole vast story. But while that is true, it is more of a psychological than a historical document, and if Otto had written nothing else it may be doubted if he would possess much importance for modern historians of the twelfth century.

But having completed in 1147 his essay on this high theme, he set to work to compile a chronicle of the reign and actions of his nephew, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. No man was more fitted for the task. Born in the purple, Otto had close blood relationship with four successive Emperors; and,

besides that, he had had personal experience of both the vital movements of the century, for he had been a student at Paris University and Abbot of a Cistercian Monastery. His facts, so far as they touched the Emperor himself, are vouched for by a letter which Frederick wrote him, in which he set down a brief record of the events and dates of his reign. This letter he prefixed to his chronicle as a guarantee of its accuracy, and it is still in being.

The *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, to give it its full title, is a historical document of the utmost importance. It is filled with exactly the sort of information which most of all we want to know. All the worthies of the time flit across its pages—Abelard, Arnold of Brescia, Bernard of Clairvaux, Guibert de la Porée. It is impossible to read a modern history of the times without finding Otto cited on almost every other page, and nearly always in terms of warm commendation. The examples of the details of which he alone makes us aware are multitudinous. He, for instance, it is who alone states that Abelard was at one time the protesting pupil of John Roscelin; who sheds a flood of light on the famous trial for heresy of Guibert de la Porée; who is the basic authority for the dramatic story of the unhappy Arnold of Brescia and the Roman Commune. The author of the *Two Cities* might certainly be accused of dragooning his facts to fit his thesis, and made no pretence of achieving what we could regard as a cool and impartial judgement. But the author of the *Gesta* is equally remarkable for the cool serenity of his poise. He was a Cistercian, tied and bound to St. Bernard by ties of unbounded personal admiration, as well as by the unfailing loyalty the whole Order paid to its great saint. Yet he is able to view him sufficiently impartially to set down this admirable summary of his character:

The aforesaid abbot was from the fervour of his Christian religion as jealous as, from his habitual meekness, he was in some measure credulous; so that he held in abhorrence those who trusted in the wisdom of this world and were too much attached to human reason, and if



anything alien from the Christian faith were said to him in reference to them, he readily gave ear to it.

It is the perfect and the essentially just comment on the dealings of that redoubtable saint with Abelard and Guibert.

Otto had, too, the pleasant habit of pausing in his narrative to furnish an elaborate introduction to any new character he brought upon the scene. Of these, there are many, but Miss Helen Waddell, as her custom is, has picked out the plum, Otto's description of the Emperor's two ambassadors to the Pope, Reginald von Dassell, Chancellor of the Empire, and Otto, Count Palatine. In her translation the panegyric runs:

In these were innate grace of presence, nobility of race, a wise and powerful brain, a soul undismayed: to them no labour came amiss, no situation harsh, no enemy seemed to them formidable. They showed no mercy to themselves for lust, or for default. Eager for fame, lavish of largesse, they sought a mighty glory, their riches in their honour. Young in years, marvellous in oratory, in character well-nigh balanced, except that in the one, by reason of his office and his order there was a certain gentleness and compassion, to the other, the severity of the sword which for good cause he bore did add a certain majesty. From this time forward nothing was done greatly, nothing was done exquisitely, but these two were at the doing of it.

Thus, two of the historian's gifts which would seem to be incompatible the one with the other, Otto of Friesingen successfully combined in his own person. As his *Two Cities* shows, he was a master of the large design begotten of the grandiloquent vision of humanity and its affairs and its cosmic importance in the scheme of things. Its very grandeur robbed him of necessity of a certain dispassionateness of judgement, and involved him inevitably in an arbitrary selection of facts, and a cavalier treatment of the implications of such facts as he swept into his net. There was then—indeed, there still is—an honourable niche in Clío's Temple for history written according to plan and on the grand scale. But Otto showed in the *Gesta*

that he also possessed precisely those qualities which ought, by the rules of the game, to have debarred him from the ability to write such a book as *The Two Cities*, the ability to view with a cool dispassionate eye the very people and causes with which he was brought daily in contact. The more he personally venerated them the more aloof and lofty was the pinnacle on which he sat when he came to write about them. He seems to have been an exception among men. Few find it possible to be dispassionate about the men and events among which they are living, and which condition their lives. Few find it difficult to exercise a cool and lofty judgement, entirely bereft of preconceived ideas, about the remote past. Otto's reactions as a historian were exactly opposed to what is normal in modern times, perhaps because he was, after all, a child of medievalism, of which the characteristic trait was its love of thinking and working on the grand scale. Of all medieval bishops he is possibly the one who most worthily upheld in his own person the great traditions of the long succession of episcopal historians.

ROGER B. LLOYD.

ART. VI.—THE MYSTICISM OF RICHARD  
CRASHAW.

MYSTIC is a word at which one almost winces, so constantly has it been taken in vain, prostituted to the uses of undisciplined sentiment and pious languors. Yet he who has read the great masters of the art of mental prayer knows that the higher graces of the spiritual life crown the faithful practise of charity and humility, the frequent reception of the Sacrament, the diligent exercise of meditation. The unitive way presupposes the purgative and the illuminative. God's habitual methods are indeed not to be prescribed as limiting him: he makes use of special providences for some elect souls. But normally, the progress of the mystic follows a well-worn path: a course charted in many languages and differing terminologies; divided into stages; described most frequently under metaphor; nevertheless, it is manifestly one and the same course. And it moves to permanent peace and joy, peace in joy, through privation, despoliation, pain. Of the great contemplatives it may truly be said that they "were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection." A distinguished contemporary critic has indeed made it a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence that he finds the history of mysticism a "chronicle of distress," "one long outcry of agony, deepening at times into despair."<sup>1</sup> A high calling, a hard calling: not an escape from the responsibilities of life in the world to indolence of mind and relaxation of will, but the summons to a life which keeps the commandments and the counsels as well, a dying life, as the mystics have called it, because the world is crucified unto them and they unto the world.

1 Paul Elmer More, *The Catholic Faith*, 302.

## I.

Some critics have called Crashaw a mystic, a great mystic; others have called him no mystic at all. Again, some others have thought him a reader of mystical literature but not himself a practising mystic, not an advanced contemplative.<sup>1</sup>

If the alternatives be regarded as mutually exclusive, they are not easy to choose between. How is one infallibly to recognize, in a treatise on mysticism, that the writer speaks from experience, *ex auditis et visis*; with authority, and not as the scribes? Perhaps it is not difficult with uneducated women like St. Teresa and St. Angela de Foligno; but how about cultivated and widely read persons like St. Francis of Sales and Fr. Augustine Baker? The difficulty increases with the development of the historic sense. How about the writers of our own day, Evelyn Underhill<sup>2</sup> and Dom Butler and Baron von Hügel, for example—to cite a few quite different types? These are persons learned in the “literature” of the subject—in the writings of the great mystics as well as in the vast number of commentaries upon them and treatises concerning them. Does their reading preclude their experience? There are learned poets, poets whose memories, and whose verses, are rich with “classical allusions,” yet who are none the less genuinely poets: Milton is but the chief English example. Of Crashaw himself, the preface of *Steps to the Temple* says that he had in his memory, “under locke and key in readinesse, the richest treasures of the best Greeke and Latine Poets . . .” Some have even asserted that Crashaw’s best poems are his free translations, yet no one has denied the genuineness of Crashaw’s poetic gift.

Of course a learned poet may make use of “classical allusions”—not because he cannot invent new phrases or figures, still less to parade his erudition; but to enrich his

1 cf. Barker, *Church Quarterly Review*. April, 1923, 61-3; and Osmond, *Mystical Poets of the English Church*, Chapter V.

2 I have in mind especially such poems of Miss Underhill’s as “Stigmata” (*Immanence*, 19).



work with overtones, to put it forward not as a novelty but as belonging to a great tradition; prizing not the new but true, not the innovation but the *loci communes*.

Why may not the same be true of the mystic of literary and philosophical education? He recognizes himself as compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses, as entered into a fellowship international as well as eternal. May he not joy to use the language and the images, the classical, traditional images of his predecessors, though the experience he seeks to convey be his own? Generations of mystics since Origen and St. Bernard have turned to the *Song of Songs* for phrases and imagery to express their passion.

May it not be conceded, too, that a certain sort of refinement brings with it a modesty about confessing to special graces, laying claim to special revelations? There is a kind of well bredness which shrinks from talking of itself, even from that sort of public self-castigation involved in Bunyan's extravagant claim to be the chief of sinners. To hesitate, even to refrain from narrating one's "personal experience" of religion, one's chronicle of alternated aridity and sweetness in prayer; to take refuge in the traditional phrases of the inner life; to make one's own the classic images: this may be the way of the timorous or the spiritually decadent. But it may also be the way of the truly humble who would fain lose themselves in the multitude of those who believe and love.

There is nothing mutually exclusive about learning and devotion, or about reading and experience. There are those who read without experience, who read as a substitute for experience, who seek to compensate by a well-stocked memory for an absence of imaginative fertility and quickness, intellectual curiosity, love. But this need not be. Reading can stimulate to godly emulation by examples of heroic piety, fire the faith, inflame the affections.

This is not intended as special pleading for Crashaw, who must indeed not be represented as ambitious of the honours

of the great mystic or as making any such claim for himself. It is merely an attempt to put the difficulty, the complexity which attends any effort to decide whether his use of mystical language and imagery is merely literary.

## II.

How can the reader tell the first-hand from the derivative? The claim of immediacy may, of course, in some sense be proffered, but supposing it is not? Can one transcend the subjective test—the feeling that this sounds like the testimony of an actor or an eye witness; this is strong, this is vivid, this is intense—perhaps, this is simple: fumbling and groping, stammering, uncertain articulation give doubtless a superior impression of sincerity over facility of utterance, and flow of rhetoric.

By such a test Crashaw would surely be acquitted of any mystical experience, for there is no halting or faltering in his speech. The words come to him easily and copiously. His early secular verses exhibit some of the astringency and tautness of Donne's closely written lines; but the religious poems flow lushly. The most intense and deep and solemn phrases are called into play without, one is at first inclined to think, due sense of their intenseness, and depth and solemnity. And their facile repetition seems to weaken the effect that a single or an infrequent use might create.

Yet this is perhaps but to indulge in another vicious contrast. True piety may often stammer; he who has done or felt, the man of action or of passion, may lack literary gifts. Rhetoric and oratory have indeed become terms almost of contempt in our day. But one need seek no more recondite example than St. Augustine, that richly endowed tropical nature, so almost equally compounded of intellect and sensibilities, so almost equally blessed by nature and grace, to discover a teacher of rhetoric and a writer of extraordinary literary skill and eloquence the genuineness and depth and intensity of whose religious experience no caviller has dared

doubt. One may speak with the tongues of men and of angels and still have charity.

### III.

The case is, however, still not complete. Is it not a ground for suspicion that Crashaw is a mere literary man playing with mysticism that he deals little if at all with the earlier states and stages of the mystical journey, little if at all with the penitential and the purgatorial, little with aridity and the Dark Night; that he sings not of conflict with doubts and sins but of peace, happiness, ecstatic joy? We have only to compare his poems with Herbert's to feel the difference. There is but one of Crashaw's, "Charitas Nimia," which recalls Herbert's "Songs of Experience" with their low pitch, their psychological detail, their subjectivity, their honest analysis of a soul which won its right to be called holy. We believe Herbert when he writes:

I know the ways of pleasure, the sweet strains,  
The lullings and the relishes of it;  
The propositions of hot blood and brains;  
What mirth and music mean; what love and wit . . .  
My stuff is flesh, not brass . . .

We feel sure that renouncing the world was for Herbert no mere liturgical formula. He had tasted the world's pleasures and found them possessed of their savour.

But of Crashaw we feel more doubtful. It is easy to think of him as a cloistered and academic soul, shielded and sheltered from "life" by his fellowship and his church; thrown by the Puritan insurrection upon the world, it is true, but incapable of action even in his own behalf. An *anima naturaliter bona*, if not *Christiana*: a weak, ritualistic pietist, who fed on effeminate manuals of devotion while the manly fought for King and Church; who forsook the church of his youth when it fell upon days of persecution and fled the land. "Good," indeed—but without the moral vigor or courage to endure the rigours of life in the "world"; without capacity for the ascetic discipline necessary to the heroism of the genuine mystic.

Does not the absence of doubt and conflict and consciousness of sin in his poetry simply reveal him as, so far from having reached the goal, not having even entered upon the arduous journey of the mystic? Was he not a mere devotee whose overwrought sensibilities found spiced nourishment in the contemplation of the materialistic cults of post-Tridentine Romanism—the Precious Blood, the Sacred Wounds, the Sacred Heart?

Against this at first sight very plausible interpretation it must be urged that, quite clearly, Crashaw's way of life, both at Cambridge and later, was austere, even rigorous. The Preface of *Steps to the Temple* describes his "rare moderation of diet," his temperance in respect to wines ("hee never created a Muse out of distempers, nor with our Canary scribblers"): Crashaw himself, in his "Apologie for the precedent Hymne," stigmatizes his countrymen who "drink up all *Spaine* in Sack"—those who "drinke [till they turn] from men to beasts" . . .) From his visits to Little Gidding, where he shared in the nightly vigils of the community, he acquired the habit of

A hasty Portion of praescribed sleep,  
Obedient slumbers, that can wake and weep.

Returned to Cambridge, he "often watched" in Little St. Mary's Church, "offered more prayers in the night, than others usually offer in the day . . ."

The friend of his sojourn in Paris, Fr. Thomas Carr, confessor of the English nuns, convincingly paints a yet more ascetic figure, devoid of all concern for worldly possessions, pleasures, ambitions, indifferent to food and sleep, speaking but of his Creator. He had wholly called

His thoughts from earth, to live above in the aire  
A very bird of paradise. No care  
Had he of earthly trashe. What might suffice,  
To fitt his soule to heavenly exercise,  
Sufficed him: and may we guesse his hart  
By what his lipps brings forth, his onely part  
Is God and godly thoughtes . . .



What he might eate or weare he tooke no thought.  
 His needfull foode he rather found than sought.  
 He seekes no downes, no sheetes, his bed's still made  
 If he can find a chaire or stoole, he's layd,  
 When day peepes in, he quitts his restless rest  
 And still, poore soule, before he's up he's dres't.  
 Thus dying did he live . . .

This is not the picture of a sacristy Christian or ritualist, still less a religious voluptuary. Nor is it the picture of a militant saint. It is the picture of a contemplative.

#### IV.

But prayer is not idleness; meditation is not indolence. "Love's passives are his activ'st part."

English religion since the Reformation has found little place for contemplation or the contemplatives; and its devotional prose, as a recent student has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> has "very little that is mystical," is characterized rather by a "certain practical strenuousness, a constant and unremitting earnestness." *Manchester al Mondo* tells us indeed of a "Kind of Arreption to Heaven": *Rapitur Anima, cum coelestia contemplatur, et contemplando jucundatur*. And Sir Thomas Browne hints of deep mysteries: "Christian annihilation, ecstasies, exolution, liquefaction, transformation, the Kiss of the spouse, gustation of God, and ingression into the divine shadow . . ." But how few these glimpses of a religious life beyond the elementary, of a religious life which has passed beyond the struggle between good and evil, for which morality has been swallowed up in love and devotion.

Hugh Cressy, a contemporary of Crashaw's who also made the passage from Canterbury to Rome, published in 1647 an apologia for his conversion in which the absence of a developed devotional life in the Church of England is turned to impressive

<sup>1</sup> Helen C. White, *English Devotional Literature, 1600-40*, 222-3.

account. The Protestant Religion, he says, "renouncing all Evangelicall Counsell of Perfection, as voluntary poverty, Charity, etc., and their avarice having swallowed all the renewes which nourished men in a solitary life of meditation and contemplation, they both want such effectuall helpes thereto, and dare not for feare of being censured as halfe-Catholiques commend or practise the meanes proper and conducing to it, insomuch as the very name of Contemplation is unknown among them, I meane in the mysticall sence . . ." <sup>1</sup>

That Cressy's charge was all too true we know from the suspicion and persecution which beset such a book as Cosin's *Devotions* (an attempt at supplying for Anglican ladies such a manual of private prayers and acts of worship as was common and prized among the Romanists) and such an institution as Little Gidding.

There is no evidence whatever for attributing Crashaw's change of religion to doctrinal dissatisfaction with Anglicanism. As Canon Beeching has remarked, Crashaw's "Apologie for the fore-going Hymne [in honor of St. Teresa] as having been writt when the author was yet among the protestantes" contains, curiously enough, no reference to Protestantism; nor is there, indeed, any line in the Hymn which betrays any trace of Protestantism. But it is perhaps still more striking that one can search in vain the Letter to the Countess of Denbigh, written to hasten her surrender to Rome, without finding any hint, let alone any explicit statement, of Roman claims or any answer to Anglican objections.

What Magick-Bolts, what Mystick Barrs  
Maintain the Will in these strange Warrs?

Crashaw asks; he says nothing of reason or reasons.

The religion of Andrewes and Laud and Cosins and Bishop Montague: this was Crashaw's religion while he was yet among the Protestants. It was a religion which differed from Rome principally through allowing greater latitude: against the

Puritans, it defended the fundamentals of Catholic doctrine and practice as, indeed, not required or commanded, but, as, on the other hand, allowed by the generosity of Anglican formularies and not legally to be forbidden.

Seventeenth century Anglo-Catholicism had in common with that of to-day its virtual congregationalism. It would be avowed and zealously defended by certain bishops and parish priests, who would exalt the prayer book and the episcopate and the altar; but it would be denounced with equal zeal by others, who would set the communion table outside the chancel, think episcopacy a rag of popery, and sermons, not prayers, the purpose of church-going.

This confusion of tongues troubles a certain sort of scrupulously logical mind; but I cannot suppose it seriously troubled Crashaw. Till the Civil War, he must have found in Peterhouse under Cosins, a sympathetic atmosphere in which to practise a life of devotion according to Catholic models.

What must have troubled Crashaw is what, by his own statement, troubled Cressy. Anglicanism, even of the Laudian school, did little to provide for the needs of those who heard and longed to obey the Lord's words, "Be ye perfect." Its energy was spent in defending, against Puritan vituperation, the bare essentials of a reformed Catholicism. But Rome was the mother of the saints and the mystics. Anglican essays at the devotional life seemed timorous and amateurish in comparison. Rome had its "spiritual directors" under whose tutelage devout souls could make progress in mental prayer and meditation. It had its monasteries where the contemplative might pass his days in learning to despise himself and adore his God; "Kingdomes of contentfull Cells" where

The self-remembering Soul sweetly recovers  
Her Kindred with the Starrs; not basely hovers  
Below: But meditates her immortal way  
Home to the originall sourse of Light and intellectuall Day.

It had its heroes of the Faith, who feared no charge of

"enthusiasm," confined themselves to no "reasonable service" but ventured all: those

Ripe Men of Martyrdom, that could reach down  
With strong armes, their triumphant crown.

In 1585 the Jesuit, Parsons, taunts his Anglican opponent in controversy: "But here I would demande of M. Buny in sincerity where or when, any of his religion did either make or set forthe (of them selves) any one treatise of this kinde of subject? I meane, of devotion, pietie and contemplation."

Where are your books of devotion; where are your houses of contemplatives; where are your saints and your mystics? These are the questions which a Crashaw would find it difficult to answer while he was "among the Protestants."

The immediate cause of Crashaw's conversion was doubtless, as Anthony Wood says, his "infallible foresight that the Church of England would be quite ruined by the unlimited fury of the Presbyterians." But surely the final cause was the desire to join himself to the communion of the saints and the mystics. And it may well be that from the writings of St. Teresa came the final strong impulsion.

## V.

Which of the Catholic mystics did Crashaw know? It is singular that he invokes none save St. Teresa, for it is scarcely likely that a man of his tastes and erudition stopped at a single author.

There is no problem of reckoning available translations, for Crashaw was equipped with the vernacular as well as the classic tongues, and read French, Italian, Spanish. The last two he taught himself, and it is a likely conjecture that he acquired Spanish in order to read in her own language the St. Teresa whose autobiography he may first have read in the English version of 1611 or of 1623.

It need not be supposed that Crashaw was limited to the



"Spanish mystics." He must have known St. Augustine and St. Bernard at least of the Fathers; and of the moderns, certainly that great Christian humanist and rhetorician with whose spirit and style he has so much in common, St. Francis of Sales. The *Traicte de l'Amour de Dieu* was richly rendered into English in 1630 by Thomas Carr, who was later, in Paris, to befriend Crashaw and to edit his *Carmen Deo Nostro*.

But the Spanish mystics he surely read — doubtless Francisco de Osuna and Juan de los Angeles and Luis de Leon and Diego de Estella and Juan de la Cruz.

Incomparably the greatest of these is, of course, St. John; and one is at first puzzled that there is neither mention of him anywhere in Crashaw nor any obvious reminiscence of his "passionate canticles" (which Gosse feels sure Crashaw must have read) and his treatises. I, too, have no real doubt that Crashaw knew St. John of the Cross. There are two reasons, however, why it would be unlikely that any direct influence could be traced. In the first place, the language and the imagery of mysticism, especially what has been called nuptial mysticism, are so traditional that one would find it difficult to prove whether Crashaw drew it from the Song of Songs, or St. Augustine, or St. Bernard, or St. Teresa, or St. Francis of Sales. Crashaw might have drawn his imagery from St. John, but there is no reason to doubt that he did draw it from St. Teresa.

In the second place, Crashaw was, despite difference in sex and learning, temperamentally nearer to St. Teresa. Among the mystics there are at least two clearly distinguishable types: the philosophically minded, usually (though not invariably) in the neo-Platonic tradition—St. Augustine, the pseudo-Dionysius, Eckhart, the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing*, St. John of the Cross; and the imagistically minded, those who are especially subject to visions and trances—Suso, St. Teresa.

The first of these types pursues the *via negativa*: God is really unlike any created thing, and we reach him by emptying our memories and fancies of images as we empty our wills of

desires. The latter type never forsakes its picture-thinking, its symbols, drawn principally from the rhetoric of profane love. To one God is "best known not defining him," a "deep and luminous darkness"; to the other, he is Heavenly Archer, the Ravisher, the Bridegroom.

It is clearly the latter type which attracts Crashaw. He is not in the least a metaphysician, or even, to use a vaguer term, a philosopher. His religion is of the dogmatical and sacramental sort. The philosophic type of mystic is but slightly concerned with the fact of an historic Incarnation: what concerns him is the birth of the Logos in the soul of the devout believer; and the death of sin in the believer and of the believer to the world; and the resurrection of the soul to a new order of values. This is all quite remote from Crashaw's world of ideas and emotions.

It is worthy of comment that Crashaw's Teresian poems spring from his reading of her life, not of her *Interior Castle* or *Way of Perfection*, just as his Latin epigrams are suggested not by the Epistles but the Gospels, and not by the Sermon on the Mount but by the miracles. One has only to contrast the themes and the genesis of Herbert's poems to see what at the centre differentiates Crashaw from his predecessor.

## VI.

Crashaw's imagination was fired by the incident of St. Teresa and the seraph. She herself, in her *Life*, records it as a vision that she saw a seraph "with a long Dart of gold in his hand; and at the end of the iron below, me thought, there was a little fire; and I conceived, that he thrust it, some severall times, through my verie Hart . . ." The Saint adds the comment: "The paine of it, was so excessive, that it forced me to utter those groanes; and the suavitie, which that extremity of paine gave, was also so very excessive, that there was no desiring at all, to be ridd of it . . ."

According to ecclesiastical authority, this was not a mere vision. At the autopsy, and at exhumations, the saint's heart

was found still to bear the wound of the angel, "a deep horizontal wound almost dividing the heart in two, as is still to be seen through the crystal reliquary in the monastery of Alba . . ."<sup>1</sup>

The saint herself, however, treats the wound, and the pain, as psychic, not physical; and Crashaw, who doubtless did not know of the physical stigmata, follows her in treating the wound as that spiritual incision called by the mystics of the wound of Love.

St. John of the Cross writes: ". . . beside the many kinds of God's visits to the soul, in which he wounds it with love, there are certain secret touches of love, which, like a fiery arrow, pierce and penetrate the soul, and kindle it with the fire of love. These are properly called the wounds of love . . . These wounds inflame the will, and the soul becomes so enveloped with fire as to appear consumed thereby."

The Wound of Love is an advanced mystical state in which God pierces the soul with such darts of fire that pain and joy are simultaneous and of equal strength<sup>2</sup>:—joy, because God loves the soul and longs for it and visits it; pain, because the soul cannot love God as he deserves, because God's visitations are temporary—succulence succeeded by drought, because the body cannot endure the strain put upon it by intense spiritual states, because the soul longs for death and perfect union with its spouse.

A commingling in equal intensity of pain and joy: a special rhetorical figure, the oxymoron, corresponds to the wound of love and is the almost inevitable expression of it. St. Bernard writes of *molesta suavitas* and *suavis molestia*. St. Francis of Sales compares the wound of love to the juice of pomegranates, "so compounded of sweete and soure, that one can hardly discerne, whether it delights the taste more by its sweetish tarteness or tarte sweetnesses." St. John, using a strong phrase which St. Teresa and Crashaw also use, apostro-

<sup>1</sup> Albert Farges, *Mystical Phenomena* . . ., 28.

<sup>2</sup> Poulain, *Des Grâces d'Oraison*, XI, 13.

phizes: "O delicious wound then, and the more delicious the more the cautery of love penetrates the inmost substance of the soul, burning all it can burn that it may supply all the delight it can give." And St. Teresa: "No small mortification will be needed to restrain this most delicious pain." The soul "is conscious of having received a delicious wound, but cannot discover how, nor who gave it, yet recognizes it as a most precious grace, and hopes the hurt will never heal."

The mystic suffers excruciating pains in the spirit and sometimes in the body, yet so far from wishing release from his suffering he prays God to continue it, to wound him yet more deeply. St. Teresa writes: "We are indiscreet and think that, as this pain is sweet and enjoyable, we cannot have too much of it. We covet it beyond measure, and do all we can to augment our longings, so that sometimes people die of such emotions." The wound of love "causes a pain, keen although sweet and delicious, from which the soul could not escape even if it wished; this, however, it never desires." And Francis de Sales: "this is admirable in the woundes received from the divine love, that their paine is delightfull; and all that feele it, consent to it, and would not change this paine for all the pleasures of the world. There is no paine in love, or if any, it is a beloved one."

This is the state which colours Crashaw's mystical poems. He writes in *The Hymne* on St. Teresa of "a sweet and subtle Pain," of "intolerable Joyes," of the "sweetly-killing Dart," of "delicious Wounds, that weep Balsam to heal themselves with;" in *Prayer* of "delicious deaths," "dear and divine annihilations."

The "death more mystical and high" of the *Hymne* is the consequence of successive wounds made by the "dart thrice dipped in that rich flame," the flame of Divine love. The death of the body is common to all; but the death of the soul, the *mors angelorum*, is the high privilege of the elect whom God has chosen to wound and enflame till they are all one wound, one flame. According to St. John, the "Divine cautery of love heals the wound which love has caused, and by each



application renders it greater. The healing which love brings is to wound again what was wounded before, until the soul melts away in the fire of love. So when the soul shall become wholly one wound of love it will then be transformed in love, wounded with love." "The enamoured soul complains not of the wound [of love] itself, for the deeper the wound the greater is its joy, but that the heart being wounded, is not healed by being wounded unto death. The wounds of love are so deliciously sweet, that if they do not kill, they cannot satisfy the soul."

Thus Crashaw speaks of

. . . a death, in which who dies  
Loves his death, and dies again,  
And would forever be so slain.  
And lives, and dies; and knows not why  
To live, but that he thus may never leave to die.

Thus he apostrophizes St. Teresa:

These thy deaths so numerous  
Shall all at last die into one,  
And melt thy soul's sweet mansion  
Like a soft lump of incense, hasted  
By too hot a fire . . .

The "crowd of loves and martyrdoms" amid which St. Teresa walks is a crowd of love's martyrs, those who have been "love-slain witnesses," who have died to the flesh and the world and time, died by the "sweet deaths of love."

Such a "mystic death" is the privilege of elect souls in this life: physical existence is compatible with spiritual death to the interests of the body. The soul's more abundant life in its crucifixion to the world and the world's crucifixion to it is expressed in another oxymoron. Crashaw writes in *A Song*:

Still live in me this loving strife  
Of *living death* and *dying life*:  
For while thou sweetly slayest me  
Dead to myself, I live in thee.

## VII.

Mystic is a name so readily attached to Crashaw, that one who seeks to verify his impressions will be surprised to find how few of the poems can by any stretch of terms find inclusion under that category. The quantitative preponderance of the sacred over the secular poetry is exaggerated to one's impressions by the superior interest and, barring the *Wishes* and *Music's Duel*, quality of the sacred: if, too, we judge a writer in terms of his own central interest we remember that Crashaw began with the *Epigrammata Sacra* and ended with *Carmen Deo Nostro*. But much of Crashaw's religious poetry meditates upon, adorns with baroque decoration, the great themes of Christian piety and worship: the Incarnation, the Holy Name, the Precious Blood, the Saints and Martyrs.

There are but five or six of Crashaw's poems which may fairly be called mystical: the three devoted to St. Teresa, the *Song* printed directly after *The Flaming Heart* and obviously belonging to the same sequence; and the two odes addressed to a young gentlewoman: *Prayer . . .* and *To the Same Party. Council concerning her Choice*. *Prayer* contains no such splendid passage as the conclusion to *The Flaming Heart*, but it is more sustained and self-consistent stylistically than the Teresian series and, because it lacks the narrative and special reference of the *Hymne* and *The Flaming Heart*, it gives at once a more generalized and more personal version of what Crashaw understands the mystical experience to be.

Father Augustine Baker speaks caustically of persons living "extroverted lives who read the mystics out of a vain curiosity, or to be thereby enabled to discourse of such sublime matters . . ." There is much of this sort of reading in our own day; but not so did Crashaw read St. Teresa. He read her not as a literary exercise but as an act of piety; and he avows the effect of his reading. He feels



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God will grant the soul "Amorous languishments" and  
"luminous trances," "immortal kisses," "divine embraces,"  
"inebriating pleasures."

Happy proof! She shall discover  
What joy, what bliss,  
How many heavens at once it is  
To have her God become her Lover.

AUSTIN WARREN.



## ART. VII.—THE PRINCIPLE OF ECONOMY.

THE teaching which forbids the repetition of the sacraments of baptism, chrism, and ordination, if they have been canonically performed, has been permanent in the church from the earliest times.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, clerks who have been deposed from holy orders and afterwards received back by the church, for reasons which she considers well grounded, must not be reordained.

The same holds good also as concerning clerks who, having been canonically ordained in the church, and having left the church and fallen into schism or heresy, subsequently return to the church after repentance and abjuration of their heretical

<sup>1</sup> See Apostolic Canons, 68. Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος δευτέραν χειροτονίαν δέξεται παρά τινος καθαιρείσθω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ χειροτονήσας. See also Apostolic Canons, 47. Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος τὸν κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἔχοντα βάπτισμα, ἐὰν ἄνωθεν βαπτίσῃ, καθαιρείσθω. and Carth. canon 57 Ὡστε μὴ ἐξείναι γίνεσθαι ἀναβαπτίσεις ἢ ἀναχειροτονήσεις. The Western Church in order to explain the non-repetition of the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and ordination, and depending on the teaching of Augustine, invented the theory of the indelible character of these three sacraments. According to this theory these three sacraments, besides the grace conveyed, impress upon him who receives them a certain sign (*signum distinctivum, configurativum, obligativum, dispositivum*), a certain indelible character (*character indelebilis*) in such a way that even if for different reasons grace is absent this character remains, and the return to the church of those who have been deprived of the grace of these sacraments is effected not through their repetition but through some other ceremony which restores the absent grace. This theory of the Western Church, which involves many difficulties, cannot be received by the Eastern Church since not only can it not be founded on holy scripture and sacred tradition, but is also incomprehensible, since it cannot explain of what description is this impressed seal, and why the latter remains if grace be removed; and further it introduces differences and distinctions between the sacraments, asserting that some of them convey character as well as divine grace, and some divine grace only.

opinions. Accordingly, clerks who have fallen into schism or heresy, and who return to their own church in which they received ordination, are not and must not be reordained.<sup>1</sup> Question can only be raised about the ordination of clerks, who received their orders from schismatical or heretical bishops. This question has not been authoritatively settled by the Eastern Church. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevailing opinion in the Eastern Church is that of Cyprian and Firmilian, and the synods of Africa and Asia Minor relative to this question, according to which the ordinations of schismatics and heretics cannot be recognized, clerks who come to the church from heresies or schisms being subjected to ordination. This opinion is based on the conception of the exclusiveness of divine grace in the church, outside which, since divine grace does not exist, the sacraments are inoperative.<sup>2</sup> It is true that

<sup>1</sup> See *S. Basil Canon 1*. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτοι ἀναχωρήσαντες παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔσχον τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν εἶχον τὸ χάρισμα τὸ πνευματικόν. And Dositheos excellently remarks "As it is impossible for a man to receive the same ordination twice, so it is impossible for him who has once been properly baptised to be rebaptised even if it happens that he falls into innumerable sins, or even actual abandonment of the faith, for if he desires to return to the Lord, he recovers the adoption which he had lost by the sacrament of penance."

<sup>2</sup> See Apostolic Canons, 46. Ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον αἰρετικῶν δεξαμένους βάπτισμα ἢ θυσίαν καθαιρεῖσθαι προστάζομεν. Canon 47. Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος τὸν μεμολυσμένον παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσῃ, καθαιρεῖσθω and Canon 68. εἰμὶ γὰρ ἄρα συνσταίη ὅτι παρ' αἰρετικῶν ἔχει τὴν χειροτονίαν· τοὺς γὰρ παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων βαπτισθέντας ἢ χειροτονηθέντας οὔτε πιστοὺς οὔτε κληρικοὺς εἶναι δυνατόν. See also Apostolic Constitutions 6, 15; Tertullian, *de Baptismo* (Migne, I, 1261); Synod of Chalcedon of 218 (Hefele *Conc. Gesch.* I, 104); the letter of Firmilian to Cyprian (Migne 3, 1611 and 1170); and Synod of 255 (letters of Cyprian 70 and 71). See further Basil the Great, οὐκ οἶδα ἐπίσκοπον μηδὲ ἀριθμήσαιμι ἐν ἱερεῦσι Χριστοῦ τὸν παρὰ βεβήλων χειρῶν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς πίστεως εἰς προστασίαν προβεβλημένον. Αὕτη ἔστιν ἡ ἐμὴ κρίσις (Letters 204, 3). S. Basil rejects the baptism of the Marcionites (Letters, 199) and the Cathari (Letters, 188) considering like Cyprian and Firmilian that those who left the church οὐκέτι ἔσχον τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς· ἐπέλιπε γὰρ ἡ μετάδοσις τῷ διακοπῆναι τὴν ἀκολουθίαν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτοι ἀναχωρήσαντες παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔσχον

in the West, from as early as the age of Pope Stephen, the opposite practice prevailed (that which is based on the relevant teaching of Augustine),<sup>1</sup> the recognition, that is, of ordinations performed by heretics or schismatics;<sup>2</sup> but in the East until the

<sup>1</sup> Augustine concerning the sacraments distinguishes the character from the grace which the Lord bestows through the outward action rightly performed. Those who are outside the church, so long as they perform the sacraments with the required sacramental action, perform them validly, since the validity of the sacraments is dependent on Christ who commanded them, and not on the minister or recipient. But sacraments thus performed are the cause of harm rather than benefit, so long as a man remains outside the true church, but recover their saving power if he enters it.

<sup>2</sup> The Western Church which distinguishes form or character from grace in those sacraments which may not be repeated, and which accepts that the form is conveyed through the canonical performance of the sacrament, considers that sacraments canonically performed by schismatics and heretics convey character but not grace, which does not exist in heretical churches, and that consequently such sacraments lacking as they do Divine grace do not cause salvation which a man can only receive in the true church. Accordingly the Western Church recognizes the validity of the sacraments of heretics if they are correctly performed, and emphasizes the necessity for the return of heretics to the bosom of the church for the acquisition of grace and salvation by grace, which he lacks who remains in heresy.

τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν εἶχον τὸ χάρισμα τὸ πνευματικόν, οἱ δὲ ἀπορραγέντες, λαϊκοὶ γενόμενοι, οὔτε τοῦ βαπτίζειν οὔτε τοῦ χειροτονεῖν εἶχον ἐξουσίαν οὐκέτι δυνάμενοι χάριν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἑτέροις παρέχειν, ἧς αὐτοὶ ἐκπεπτώκασι. Διὸ ὡς παρὰ λαϊκῶν βαπτιζομένους τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσαν ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ ἀληθινῷ βαπτίσματι, τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνακαθαίρεσθαι (Canon 1. See also Canon 32 of Laodicea where the εὐλογία of heretics is considered an ἀλογία). See further Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*, 7, where the baptism of heretics is considered as non-existent, and the need of their being baptised is emphasised; and Theodore the Studite, *Letter* 40, where it is emphasised οὐχ οἷόν τε οὖς χειροτονεῖ (αἱρετικὸς ἐπίσκοπος) τῇ ἀληθείᾳ εἶναι λειτουργοὺς θεοῦ. And Zekos Rhosses excellently remarks: "a bishop who falls from the true universal church of the first eight centuries and changes the faith by novelties can never transmit to others the genuine episcopal office and true ordination." (*Ὁρθοδοξία καὶ Παλαιοκαθολικισμός*, page 51).

fifth century the practice expounded above was firmly maintained—the practice, that is, of the non-recognition of sacraments performed by schismatics and heretics. Since the fifth century, however, the Eastern Church has applied with regard to the sacraments of schismatics and heretics who adhere to her the principle of economy, which has been in use in the church from the beginning.<sup>1</sup> The question of economy has never been investigated in detail, and it is this which explains the uncertainty observable about its meaning. After a detailed and careful investigation of this question, based on the firm foundation of the practice of the Eastern Church, I have arrived at the following certain (in my opinion) conclusions. Economy, contrasted with “akribeia” (the exact and strict observance of the canons), is the non-strict, and non-exact observance of the canons, a deviation from the canons.<sup>2</sup> The church employed economy either temporarily or continually<sup>3</sup> for a well-grounded reason (for a *causa justa*, as the Romans, from whom the church probably adopted economy, said). And this well-grounded reason is the salvation of souls which is the final object of the church. The church, that is to say, considering the spiritual interest of the majority, makes use of economy to save them from spiritual injury, and to secure for them greater spiritual profit than they would have possessed had “akribeia” been enforced.<sup>4</sup> The church, indeed, using

<sup>1</sup> Already the apostle Paul, who expressly and emphatically says “if he be circumcized, Christ shall profit you nothing” (*Gal.* v, 2), circumcizes Timothy “because of the Jews which were in those quarters” (*Acts* xvi, 3; see also *I Cor.* viii, 13, and ix, 19 following).

<sup>2</sup> Cyril of Alexandra, writing to the Archimandrite Gennadius who was avoiding communion with the bishop Proctus praises τὸ ἐντονον εἰς εὐλάβειαν and τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, but recommends however τὰς οἰκονομίας τῶν πραγμάτων which ἐστὶ ὅτε παραβιάζονται βραχὺ τοῦ δεόντως ἔξω φέρεσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> Τῶν οἰκονομιῶν αἱ μὲν πρὸς καιρὸν γεγύνασι παρὰ τῶν πατέρων, αἱ δὲ τὸ διηγεκὲς ἔχουσιν.

<sup>4</sup> Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν παρορᾶν τι τῆς ἀκριβείας μείζονος ἔνεκα κατορθώματος (Cyril of Alexandria, Letter 56 in Migne, 77, 319). Basil the Great, regarding the baptism of the Cathari and Encratites as invalid



economy took into consideration the faith of heretics and schismatics who adhered to her and the canonical regularity of their performance of the sacraments as a whole, and especially of baptism and ordination; but this was not the condition of the use of economy, as the majority among us suppose, since the condition of the use of economy was that which has been stated above, the salvation of souls. Only thus can be explained the uncertainty prevailing in our church about the validity of the sacraments of the identical heretics and schismatics, whose sacraments have sometimes been recognized by economy as valid and sometimes as invalid,<sup>1</sup> as well as the recognition of the sacraments of heretics, whose heresy was of a graver character, and the rejection of those whose heresy was less serious.<sup>2</sup> From what has been said above it appears indisputably that economy, which is opposed to "akribeia," and is consequently something different from "akribeia" when employed concerning the sacraments, changes invalid into valid sacraments, and valid into invalid sacraments. It is obvious that if the sacraments, which the church receives as valid by

<sup>1</sup> Worthy of special attention is the uncertainty observable in the Eastern Church about Western baptism and orders, which she sometimes recognises as valid in such a way that she receives converts without baptism or ordination, and sometimes as invalid so that she compels converts to be baptised or ordained. (See especially the *Σωζόμενα* of Κωνσταντίνος Οικονόμος ὁ ἐξ Οἰκονόμων, Athens, 1862, vol I, 398ξ, and Demetrius Georgiades τὸ βάπτισμα τῶν αἵρετικῶν, reprint from Νέα Σιών, Jerusalem, 1924.)

<sup>2</sup> Thus the sacraments of e.g. the Arians, Macedonians, Nestorians, and Apollinarians were recognised as valid, so that these on being converted to the church were not baptised (canon 7 of the 2nd General Council and 95 of the 3rd General Council).

and consequently considering that they should be baptised on being converted to the church, adds about the former ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅλως ἔδοξέ τισι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκονομίας ἕνεκα τῶν πολλῶν δεχθῆναι αὐτῶν τὸ βάπτισμα ἔστω δεκτόν and about the latter ἐὰν μέντοι μέλλῃ τῇ καθόλου οἰκονομίᾳ ἐμπόδιον ἔσεσθαι τοῦτο, πάλιν τῷ ἔθει χρηστέον καὶ τοῖς οἰκονομήσασι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς πατράσιν ἀκολουθητέον · ὑφορῶμαι γὰρ μήποτε ὥς βουλόμεθα ὀκνηροὺς αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸ βαπτίζειν ποιῆσαι ἐμποδίσωμεν τοῖς σωζομένοις διὰ τὸ τῆς προτάσεως αὐστηρόν (Canon 1).

using economy concerning them, were valid in themselves, the employment of economy would be superfluous. If the baptism of certain heretics was valid, then heretics ought to be received into the church without baptism since baptism is not repeated, and consequently their reception without baptism by economy would be superfluous. Further, Basil the Great, considering the baptism of the Cathari and the Encratites invalid, thought that they ought to be baptised on adhering to the Church; but, using economy concerning them, he accepted their invalid baptism as valid, and for this reason emphasized that they could be received by economy without being baptised. Further, our church sometimes receives Occidentals by baptism, and sometimes without it. And it is asked, Does our church accept the baptism of Occidentals as valid or invalid? If, on the one hand, she accepts it as valid, why does she baptise Occidentals who adhere to her, since rebaptism is explicitly forbidden? If, on the other hand, she rejects it as invalid, why does she not baptise those who adhere to her? Why does our church accept the baptism of Occidentals sometimes as valid and sometimes as invalid, since the latter preserve their heterodoxy permanently? It is only possible to give an answer solving these difficulties if we admit that the church, as steward of the divine grace, can treat invalid sacraments as valid, and valid sacraments as invalid.

This conclusion, at which I arrived some years ago, when I briefly examined the question at issue in my work about the sacraments,<sup>1</sup> was rejected at the Lambeth Conference of 1930,<sup>2</sup> when the Bishop of Gloucester asked the Orientals who were there present if they agreed with my assertion "that the church, as steward of the divine grace, can recognize the ordin-

<sup>1</sup> See C. Dyovouniotes *Tà μυστήρια τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας* (Athens 1912), pp. 164 *seq.* The church which otherwise taught that no one could be saved without baptism, proclaimed the catechumen martyrs (who consequently had not been baptised) and the infants slaughtered by Herod to be not only saved but to be saints. And the Western Church at least has admitted that vehement desire for baptism can replace the rite.

<sup>2</sup> At the second session on July 16th, 1930.

ations and the sacraments in general of heretics and schismatics, among whom these are not canonically performed or the apostolic succession has been broken."<sup>1</sup> From what has been developed above, however, it has been demonstrated that this rejection, not being based on the spirit and practice of our church, is fallacious. Taking occasion of the above-mentioned discussion I have wished to study this question in more detail and to enquire particularly whether others have arrived at the same conclusion as myself, since this conclusion, in my opinion, is certain and indisputable. As a result of this study I have been persuaded that, of the few who have examined this question, the majority have done so from a Western point of view,<sup>2</sup> and a few of them only from the Orthodox. Those, however,

<sup>1</sup> The Patriarch (of Alexandria) said that while it was true that the Church had power to reject the priesthood of schismatics it had no power to recognize ordinations in churches where the apostolic succession has been broken. He said that in the whole history of the Church there had been no example of such an economy as that, when priesthood of heretics had been recognized it had been after thorough examination which in other cases had led to the requirement of re-ordination. (*Report of the Joint Doctrinal Commission*. S.P.C.K., 1932, p. 63.) But the Eastern Church, which believes that the church founded by Christ is one, does not recognize apostolic succession among heretics. Only the Western Church owing to her doctrine of the sacraments recognizes such a succession. The Eastern Church, when she received the Arians, Apollinarians, Macedonians, and Nestorians, without baptism, certainly did not admit that the apostolic succession had been preserved by them. While the Patriarch of Alexandria in the quotation above asserts that the church can only recognize valid orders as invalid, and not invalid orders as valid, D. Georgiades asserts the church can only recognize invalid orders as valid, and not valid orders as invalid. (*Τὸ βάπτισμα τῶν αἵρετικῶν*, page 31). These two opposite and one-sided opinions when united together constitute the true teaching of the Eastern Church, according to which the church as steward of the divine grace can recognize invalid orders as valid and valid orders as invalid.

<sup>2</sup> These writers, thinking according to the Western theory that sacraments canonically performed by heretics convey character, assert that those who accept sacraments from heretics receive grace on entering the church. To this class belong Οικονόμος ὁ ἐξ Οικονόμων and Stephen Karatheodoré. The former

who have examined it from an Orthodox point of view have all arrived at the same conclusion.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus Puller writes "the post-Nicene Eastern Fathers for the most part teach that baptism administered by heretics is invalid, even though the right formula be used ; but they also hold that the church can, by a high exercise of its authority, validate that which would be of itself invalid. This seems to be the view of the Eastern Church up to the present time." (*The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*. 1st ed., p. 74). C. Androutsos writes "if we wish to reconcile the method of economy with the principles (of theology) concerning the church, it is obvious that either the sacraments are revived on return to the church, as many Western theologians teach, or the church appears as mistress of the sacraments able according to circumstances to change them from being by nature invalid into being valid." (*Δογματικὴ*, p. 307). And D. Georgiades writes "the change can constitute that which is by nature invalid, valid and saving, miraculously revivifying it. But that which is by nature valid and saving it cannot constitute invalid, for whoever has been saved by the Lord cannot be condemned by the church." (*Τὸ βάπτισμα τῶν αἵρετικῶν*, p. 31). Georgiades' opinion that a sacrament valid and saving by nature cannot be constituted invalid by the church, and the justification of this opinion are not correct. Truly he who has been saved by the Lord cannot be condemned by the church without cause, but when there is a cause he not only can but ought to be condemned by the church. The church's infliction of excommunication and degradation (from holy orders) proves this beyond doubt.

among other things writes "The Church supplied what is needful concerning the baptism of those converted from heresies by economy not (as Scotus foolishly asserted) by changing the non-baptism of the heterodox into baptism, but by consecrating the completion of it fulfilling, what was lacking, the divine grace and mercy" (*Σωζόμενα*, Vol. I, 512). The latter writes "Such heterodox as were converted or day by day are converted thus and in such a mind to the catholic and apostolic church, may be persuaded by the guarantee of the church that already in their confession 'I confess one baptism,' is fulfilled the divine grace which supplies that which was lacking, *necessitate cogente* and *Deo indulgentiam suam largiente* the deficiency and inadequacy, namely that which was not strictly performed according to natural and moral necessity, but by the present will of the convert is reduced and brought back to exactitude." Παπ. ἐλεγχ. Vol. w, p. 51.



From what has been said above it appears that the Eastern Church can recognize by economy the sacraments and the orders of Anglicans who join her,<sup>1</sup> and the rejection by the Western Church of Anglican orders is absurd,<sup>2, 3</sup> being contrary to its own theory of the sacraments.<sup>4</sup>

C. DYOVOUNIOTES.

<sup>1</sup> The discussion about economy at the Lambeth Conference and the Bishop of Gloucester's question envisaged in particular, it seems to me, the recognition by economy of Anglican ordinations by the Eastern Church in such a way that the validity of their sacraments might be recognised altogether. But the Eastern Church, as her long history shows, has never recognized sacraments performed outside her borders, and has only employed economy as concerning those who join her.

<sup>2</sup> By the Bull of Leo XIII *Apostolicae Curae* of September 13th, 1896 (see especially A. J. C. Allen *On the Bull Apostolicae Curae* in the *Révue internationale de Théologie*, 1897, No. 19, p. 22).

<sup>3</sup> The arguments of the Occidentals against Anglican ordinations are not weighty (see especially A. Lowndes *Vindication of Anglican Orders*, 1897-1900 in 2 volumes), and it was rather grounds of expediency which inspired the Pope to reject their validity.

<sup>4</sup> The Western Church, which recognizes that sacraments canonically performed outside her borders convey character, ought not to have denied the validity of Anglican ordinations since Parker's consecration cannot be seriously impugned from a canonical point of view as has been shown by the most recent investigations, and the order of the sacrament of ordination contains the absolutely necessary elements for recognition as canonical as is proved by the Anglican Prayer Book.

## REVIEWS

*Agape and Eros: a Study of the Christian Idea of Love.* By ANDERS NYGREN. Translated by A. G. HEBERT. (S.P.C.K. 1932). 6s.

It is a time-honoured custom with Continental theologians to take an outstanding theological word, and use it as a peg upon which to hang a fully developed doctrinal system. The method has many advantages—for anything which helps to focus or crystallize an assembly of ideas deserves a warm welcome. But it has its disadvantages, too. Words are elusive servants: they adopt inconvenient and even inconsistent meanings almost of their own accord; they call up very different pictures in the minds of different readers; it is as though the peg on which the system hangs were continually changing size and shape and position. On the other hand, ideas are procreative; they lead on from one thought to another; so that a complete exposition of the system will enter many spheres in which the original word will scarcely find itself at home. Thus the writer who adopts this method is somewhat at its mercy. He has to resort to explanations, adaptations, almost to subterfuges. Sometimes the key-word does not appear where it might well be expected; sometimes it appears in surprising connections; and all this and much else has to be explained—if not explained away.

It must be confessed that Dr. Nygren has been greatly hampered by just these difficulties. His theme is, in fact, the now familiar contrast between theocentric religion and egocentric religiosity; and it may be said at once that he handles it firmly and convincingly. Even here, however, he is too eager to draw his contrasts clearly, and consequently overlooks many of the nuances of religion in its actual manifestations. For example—and this is, perhaps, a point on which the English reader, nourished by the studies of von Hügel, Dean Inge, and Miss Underhill, may well express surprise—he treats “mysticism” as being wholly egocentric, and so, in effect, essentially non-Christian (pp. 163, 172, 175, 179). He has failed to recognize that what he says on the subject applies not to

mysticism as such, but only to that version, or perversion, of the mystical temper which M. Bremond has taught us to call "panhedonism."

Not only so, but in order to eliminate "mysticism" from the true Christian tradition altogether, he has to treat the great mystical texts of the New Testament—"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God"; "Now we see in a glass darkly, but then face to face"; "We shall see him as he is," etc.—in a manner which can only be described as arbitrary in the extreme. "In all these passages," he says, "the thought is not of a mystical vision of God, but of the perfected fellowship of man with God which will be realized when God has fulfilled his Messianic purpose and given to men the Kingdom; in other words, the idea is not mystical but eschatological" (p. 175). The obvious question, Why should an idea not be at once mystical and eschatological? (as, indeed, in many circles, even on Dr. Nygren's attenuated conception of mysticism, it often was) has never occurred to him. There is, in fact, a tinge of the Molinist or Kantian conception of "pure love" which colours Dr. Nygren's views unduly on many of these points. That he himself is partly aware of the fact may be inferred from his warning against "*a-priori* schematising" on pages 177 and 178; and it may be suggested that the Augustinian "*caritas*," which he treats as a "synthesis which cannot be completely carried through" (p. 39, *cf.* p. 182), is nearer to the full theological statement of the Christian ideal than Dr. Nygren is prepared to admit. To say baldly that "self-love" (even in the widest sense) "is not Christian" (p. 170) is to come perilously near to Manicheism. *Non propter praemium, sed non sine praemio* is surely the more balanced view.

The main theme of the book, however, is clear and straightforward. Although Dr. Nygren makes his theme hang on the distinction between Christian *agapé* and pagan *eros*, his real purpose (as may be inferred from his constant digressions into fields with which these words are only remotely concerned) is to show that the contrast between theocentrism and egocentrism manifests itself not least of all in this distinction. Here he is on firm ground—Christian *agapé*, even when exercised towards our fellow-men (pp. 94-98—a fine passage), is essentially theocentric; pagan *eros*, even when relieved of the idea of "sensual love" (p. 33), is all but uniformly egocentric. And nothing

could be more true than to say: "The Christian way of fellowship with God" (let us add, also, in strict conformity with Dr. Nygren's thought—"and with man as well") "depends wholly upon the Divine Agapé" (p. 52); or "Agapé in man is an outflow of the Divine Agapé" (p. 115).

Throughout the central portion of the book the implications of this primary doctrine are traced with unerring insight across the pages of the New Testament. Only here and there are we conscious that the author is forced on occasion to modify his facts to fit his scheme—as, for example, when he almost openly regrets that St. John did not use *eros* rather than *agapé* in speaking of "love to the world" (p. 116); or when, on the following page, he enumerates the identities of vocabulary between the Fourth Gospel and contemporary Hellenistic aspirations, but fails to perform the like service in the case of St. Paul—where the results would have been inconvenient for his theory. A similar artificiality on the other side is to be found on pp. 148 (footnote), 153-156, where the presence of the idea of "receiving from the other world and giving to this world" is indeed admitted as a factor in "Eros-religion" (*i.e.*, paganism), but not by any means allowed its full weight.

It will be seen that our criticisms have been directed wholly towards defects in the book which the author's method and indeed—to some extent—his bias towards a dualistic outlook, rendered inevitable. Once allowance has been made for these accidents, the book is deserving of unrestrained praise. There are passages in it which may well become classical. The theocentric literature of the present generation is already imposing in quantity and high in quality. But there is always room for any further contributions which approach the subject from a new angle; and such a contribution Dr. Nygren has undoubtedly made.

K. E. K.

*Marius Victorinus und die Entwicklung der Abendländischen Willensmetaphysik.* VON LIC. DR. ERNST BENZ, Privat-Dozent an der Universität Halle. (Kohlhammer, Stuttgart. 1932).

"It is worth while calling attention to the evidence, suggested by a good deal of Victorinus's theology, of a closer connection than has been yet noticed between him and St. Augustine."



Thus the youthful theologian, Charles Gore, in his conscientious and exceedingly discerning study of Victorinus, written nearly fifty years ago for the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Since then the dependence of Augustine upon Victorinus's master, Plotinus, has been laboriously traced in a whole series of studies among which those of Harnack, Gaston Boissier, Loofs, Seeberg, and Alfaric are perhaps the best known. But it has been reserved for Dr. Benz to undertake in an exhaustive manner the particular study which Dr. Gore so firmly outlined half a century ago. Dr. Benz's study is all the more important that it concentrates upon a single point, the element of will in the conception of the Divine nature which, through St. Augustine's markedly individual treatment of the doctrine of the Trinity, had such wide influence in later Western theology. It is Dr. Benz's chief task to establish the voluntarist character of the metaphysic of Victorinus and Plotinus by a careful analysis of the doctrine of each in turn. Having accomplished this task with an admirable, if also (for the reader) somewhat exhausting, thoroughness, he goes on to trace the impress of the doctrine on the work of the Alexandrian and Latin theologians before Augustine, and finally on that of Augustine himself.

The abundance of Dr. Benz's treatment makes selection essential for the reviewer, yet makes it exceedingly difficult. His argument clearly depends upon the cumulative impression which is obtained only by a detailed and separate examination of each of the philosophical aspects of the problem. As, however, the chief dogmatic use which Victorinus himself made of the Plotinian philosophy was the refutation of Arianism, it may be well to concentrate on his Logos-doctrine, on his conception of the relations between the Father and the Son. No doubt, as Benz insists, a study of Victorinus's ontology is here an indispensable preliminary: but it must suffice to say that for Victorinus God is the transcendence of being itself. That is to say, he is beyond every determinate form of being. No such determinate form can be rightly predicated of him. Yet this negative theology for Victorinus, as later for the pseudo-Dionysius and Scotus Erigena, is not to be taken in a privative but in a superlative sense. God is more than being, the eternal and necessary source of all being. And this necessity is not merely logical. It lies in his own nature as its innermost essence. For that innermost essence is power, not the mere potentiality

which is the logical condition of actuality, not potency but inexhaustible fulness of power, *Kraft*. And this fulness of power in God is will, so that will is not a mere function of the Divine nature, but its absolute essence.

Thus this transcendent Will-Power, again not by any logical necessity inherent in its idea, but by the inner necessity of its nature, eternally hypostatizes itself, moves in virtue of that necessity into determinate existential forms of being. All these forms are therefore already in God, in the first inclusive determination or hypostatisation of his transcendent power. This hypostasis of the absolute fulness of the Divine nature without any possible remainder is the Logos. The Logos is, therefore, the pure transcendent Being (or rather Non-Being in the sense of that which transcends even being) taking form as an actual existent. The forms of its existence are Being, Life, Intelligence—*esse, vivere, intelligere*. It is the actualisation of the Transcendent Power, as the Principle of all existence, life, intelligence. The Logos is the self-hypostatisation of the transcendent Being “not by a necessity of nature but by the will of the Divine Majesty.”

This definite statement of Victorinus marks distinctly the voluntarist character of the metaphysic on which he relies for his conception of the Divine nature, and especially for his Trinitarian doctrine. It may be noted in passing that he here uses the very conception, the holding of which Aquinas was afterwards to allege as the necessary cause of the Arian departure from orthodoxy, as his principal weapon in refuting that heresy. Aquinas, of course, was justified in tracing the roots of the heresy of the Arians to their contention that the Son did not proceed from the Father by necessity of nature but by an act of the Father's will. But this contention of theirs, as Victorinus insisted, was the expression of the intellectualist character of their metaphysic according to which will was a function, not the very substance, of the Divine nature. Now will as a mere function is not only distinguishable, but must be distinguished from, its effect. The Son was an effect of the Father's will and therefore not of the same substance, however like in substance, as the Father. If on the other hand Spirit was substantially will, God's will was his Substance, and therefore the Son was consubstantial with the Father just because he was eternally generated *a voluntate divinae majestatis* and not

*a necessitate naturae.* In other words, the Arians had been led into error just because they had not that fully dynamic conception of the Divine nature which only a voluntarist metaphysic could give.

The bearing upon Trinitarian doctrine of Victorinus's conception of the Logos as the self-determination of the transcendent will which is the Divine essence is excellently drawn out by Dr. Benz in his detailed studies of its various aspects. Will, Life, Intellect, Action, Movement—all these have their ultimate and complete significance within the circle of the Divine nature. Even prior to them the very conceptions of "form" and "image" as applied to God represent an actualising of that hidden depth of the Divine nature which is beyond and above actuality. In each of these instances the Logos *is* the actualisation, the immediate but inclusive end of the outward movement of the Divine nature. Before the activity of the Divine nature can go out beyond itself, before it can utter itself in creation, it must first be completed within itself. The hidden source of this activity is the Father, the original fountain of Will-Power in God. Its accomplished end is the Son. And God *is* God only in this eternal generation of the Son from the Father who is the specific Divine activity. The distinctions within the wholeness of the Divine nature are not merely ideal relations. They are, as we should say, objective realities, realities which together constitute *the* Divine Reality. And their very togetherness is itself another such objective reality within the Divine nature, the Spirit which is the bond, the *copula*, of Father and Son.

The second section of Dr. Benz's book is devoted to a careful study of Plotinus's conception of the Divine nature. He contends that, in spite of his emanation-theory, with its consequence of a continual degradation of the Divine in its outward movement, Plotinus teaches a self-hypostatisation of the One which is a fully sufficient philosophic framework for the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Within the One there is a complete identity of substance between the hidden fount of Being and the hypostatised Logos. It is principally on the evidence afforded by the Eighth Book of the Sixth Ennead that Benz relies for his contention that the self-unfoldment of the absolute Spirit is thought of by Plotinus as completing itself within the Divine Being itself. This breach in the conception

of sheer transcendent unity which Plotinus had inherited from Aristotle is to be accounted for by the intense attraction of his deeply religious nature towards the oriental conception of God as Will. God's self-contemplation is not an idle act. It is a self-shaping, a self-substantiation, a kind of self-creation. Plotinus had to work with a Greek terminology, but in spite of it he had drawn near to the personal God of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

Dr. Benz's account of the effects of this will-metaphysic upon the Alexandrian and Latin Fathers is full of interest. Particularly noteworthy is his examination of Chalcidius' translation of the *Timæus*. The *Timæus* was, of course, known to the later Latin and mediæval writers only through Chalcidius' translation. The immense vogue among the mediæval theologians of Plato's creation-myth has, in spite of the markedly religious spirit of its author, been always somewhat of a puzzle. Some explanation at least may be found in a fact to which Dr. Benz calls attention—the fact that both in his translation and in his commentary Chalcidius deflects Plato's intellectualist conceptions in a voluntarist direction. It is the sovereign will of God, not the Platonic ideas in the Divine Mind, that preside over the creation.

The influence of Victorinus and Plotinus upon Augustine, not only in his Trinitarian doctrine, but also in regions where such influence was less to be looked for, as in his doctrines of grace and predestination, is traced by Dr. Benz with much fulness. It is indeed evident that here his own religious sympathies are engaged. It required a religious descendant of Augustine to do justice to the religious value of a voluntarist metaphysic. Dr. Benz's evident, if never obtruded, religious sympathies give enhanced value to the work of the scholar.

A. L. LILLEY.

*L'Eglise et la Rémission des Péchés aux premiers siècles.* By

FR. PAUL GALTIER, S.J. (Beauchesne et Fils, Paris, 1932). SINCE the publication of Watkins' *History of Penance*, there has been little direct study of the subject in a form easily accessible to English readers. Fr. Galtier's book will enable at least some of them to become acquainted with the progress that study has made in recent years.



In the former part of the book, the author revives the old question, debated long ago by Lea in his *Auricular Confession and Absolution*. What was the character of Sacerdotal Absolution in the primitive Church? Was it thought of as conveying divine forgiveness of sin, or was it no more than the Church's act of lifting the ban, placed on the repentant sinner, in virtue of her authority to "bind"? Many writers on the subject of Penance have argued in favour of the former view. Its strength may be judged from the fact that it has won the support of Harnack, Loofs and Seeberg among Protestant authors, while not a few Catholics have been won over to its allegiance, among them Karl Adam and Bernard Poschmann. It is the latter's studies of Penance, notably "Die abendlandische Kirchenbusse am Ausgang des christl. Altertums," which are under Fr. Galtier's eye throughout this work. Happily the quotations are sufficiently numerous and extensive to make it unnecessary to have read the original.

Fr. Galtier argues that those who oppose the modern theory of absolution to a primitive idea of reconciliation only succeed in establishing their thesis by a process of ignoring the historical context of their authorities. "La manière dont on les utilise rappelle par trop celle des 'sententiaires' du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, s'appliquant à combiner et à faire concorder entre elles les 'authorités' recueillies à l'avenant: un vrai jeu de casse-tête" (p. 22).

According to Poschmann the truly primitive view is that which he believes he has detected in St. Cyprian, namely, that forgiveness is the result, not of the Church's absolution, but of the sinner's own penitential exercises. Only as a consequence of the teaching of St. Augustine has a change of view come about. His conclusion in this respect, however, is unacceptable to Adam and Seeberg, who insist that according to the bishop of Hippo, in reconciling the penitent the Church merely declared his satisfaction to have been sufficient. Even so Poschmann does not admit that Augustine is in the true line of development. His attitude is exceptional, and for teaching more in accordance with the primitive view, one must look to St. Leo and St. Gregory. Watkins had previously pointed out what he believed to be the inconsistency of Gregory with the rest of Christian antiquity in his theory of a purely declaratory absolution. According to Dr. Poschmann, on the

other hand Gregory only maintained the normal doctrine. Fr. Galtier examines the evidence. He finds in Tertullian's *De Pudicitia* clear indication that the question at issue between Catholic and Montanist, was not the Church's power to absolve, in the sense of pardoning sin, but the right of the "psychic" Church to usurp the privilege of the "spiritual" Church. The connection of the Church's absolution with God's pardon is taken for granted on both sides. Similarly to St. Cyprian *dare pacem*=*peccata remittere*. Poschmann stresses "*Dominus nostra satisfactione placandus est*" (*De lapsis*, 17) but he ignores the context. Cyprian was no less concerned than the Council of Trent that absolution should only be given on condition of real signs of repentance on the part of the sinner. We shall meet the same insistence presently on the need on real penitence in the writings of St. Gregory. Fr. Galtier points out with justice that to insist on penitence, expressed in works, does not rule out the necessity of forgiveness through the absolution of the Church. So, too, according to St. Jerome "le prêtre . . . a le pouvoir de remettre le péché" (*Dial*, c. Lucifer, c. 5) and in his description of an act of absolution there is the clearest indication that such absolution is associated with God's pardon and the return of the Holy Spirit. The means by which absolution is given is by the prayer of the clergy. With this view Origen concurs in his tract "περὶ Εὐχῆς." c. 28. "By prayer, exactly—that is just my point," argues the German doctor. "You will find the same idea in St. Leo. '*Sic divinae bonitatis praesidiis ordinatis ut indulgentia Dei nisi supplicationibus sacerdotum nequeat obtineri.*'" (*Ep. ad. Theod.* 1-2). "No—not merely prayer, in the sense of intercession," replies the Jesuit, "else why should the pope lay such stress on the need of this 'prayer' before the hour of death and the necessity of its use even where the penance appointed had not been fully performed?" The part played by the penitential acts in connection with absolution, according to St. Leo, is to be compared with that of the preparatory exercises for baptism. No one would have dreamt of thinking that these took the place of Baptism in the remission of sins. Equally the purpose of such acts in connection with Absolution was only to ensure as far as possible reality of repentance. If Leo appears to insist on the performance of penances on the part of those who have been admitted to "penitence" on their death-beds, and who

afterwards recover, it is only in order that the conscience of the Church may be satisfied, and not because such absolution apart from subsequent penance would be invalid.

Between the episcopates of Leo and of Gregory, a change took place in the character of Christian society. Clergy and people alike seemed in danger of losing sight of moral values. Hence it was natural that Gregory should conceive it his primary duty to seek to restore an elementary sense of sin.

As a result, we find an increased stress laid on the need of personal penitence, and frequent warning to the clergy of the danger of giving absolution where such penitence seemed to be insufficient. The only allusion made by him to any formula of absolution is to be found in his *Letters* (ix, 1, PL. 77, 939C). Here he uses the expression *benedictio viatici*, which, Galtier assures us on the authority of the *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, is the usual expression at this period for the prayer of absolution with imposition of hands in various liturgical ceremonies. In spite of Gregory's stress on penitential acts, on the evidence of the *Homilies on Ezekiel*, Fr. Galtier arrives at the conclusion that Gregory unmistakably attributes to the 'prayer of the priesthood' the actual remission of sins. Significant passages are *Hom. In Ezech.* ii, 9, 20, 21. As a result he has no difficulty in meeting the argument of his opponent based on Gregory's famous comments on "Quorum Remiseritis" (*In evang. Hom.*, 26, 4-6). "*Les deux expressions 'reum a supplicio absolvere' et 'poenam amovere quam meruit,' sont exactement synonymes*" (p. 122). He admits that his interpretation of the patristic evidence is wholly opposed to that of the schoolmen. But then he assures us that their conclusions were only reached by a process of ignoring certain essential data of the problem.

Fr. Galtier appends a lengthy excursus on the "penitential crisis of the third century." Was the forgiveness of sins of the flesh after penance an innovation? Who innovated? Callistus. Of course it is Callistus, whom Tertullian is attacking in his *De Pudicitia*. Undoubtedly, Origen's περὶ Εὐχῆς, (c. 28), refers to the same subject, and it is Callistus' penitential laxity which is denounced *nominatim* by the author of the *Philosophumena*. Callistus is the culprit. In reply, Fr. Galtier aims at showing that the very existence of the "crisis" is an illusion. Tertullian is not attacking Callistus at

all, but the bishop of Carthage. Was not Cyprian in his time also called "benedictus papa"? Callistus' laxity, if it was laxity, was in regard to schismatics, not in regard to sinners of his own Church, and as for the "incurable sins," the easy absolution of which is condemned by Origen, we need only see in their treatment further evidence of the concern in the patristic period for the reality of repentance. We may feel grateful to Fr. Galtier for having offered an attractive solution to the problem, which has long remained unsolved, as to the identity of Tertullian's "Episcopus episcoporum." But it will be especially comforting to Ultramontanes.

The second part of the book is concerned with the problem of the origin of Private Penance. Dr. Kirk, in his *Vision of God*, p. 540, writes: "Any assumption of private penance with private absolution, running parallel to the public institution as a recognised alternative, involves the hypothesis of a conspiracy of silence on the part of patristic authorities . . . and flies in the face of the vast bulk of contemporary evidence." It would seem, therefore, that Fr. Galtier had set himself a task of great difficulty. But plainly, if he succeeds in establishing the fact that absolution was normally given even for grave sins, apart from public penance (excluding death-bed cases), he has strengthened his case for absolution in the period being regarded as a real forgiveness of sin, and not a mere raising of ecclesiastical censure. The view that private penance was introduced into Europe through the influence of Columban's Celtic monks has become very general in recent years. But, as Fr. Galtier points out, it seems surprising that no trace remains, of any protest which so startling an innovation would naturally have aroused. Dr. Poschmann denies absolutely that there is any trace of private penance in the Latin Church before the seventh century. But that is because, in Fr. Galtier's view, he and those who argue on his lines are looking for something as clear-cut and distinct as public penance. The question, according to the author, is whether the Church of the early centuries ever gave remission of sin apart from public penance? To this he answers unhesitatingly in the affirmative. Only to mention the treatment given to those relapsed into paganism or rebaptised by Arians, on the part of Leo and Felix III, there are clear cases of forgiveness apart from public



penance. (Leo ad Rust. inq. 19), (Felix ad Episc. Sic. Jaffe 609).

In the second chapter he turns the tables on his opponents by adducing evidence that it is private rather than public penance which is actually primitive. Fr. Galtier is unperturbed by the emphatic denunciation of the repetition of penance by the Council of Toledo (589). A like objection had been raised at the Council of the "Oak" against the practice of St. John Chrysostom (Photius Cod. 59). But he does not appear to meet the argument that what everyone accepts, no one denounces. His conclusion is that private penance grew up as a result of the close and intimate relationship, which existed between the bishops and their flocks. (Would it were always so now!) If there is anything to be set to the credit of the Celtic monks in respect of its introduction, it is rather an intensifying of this relationship between clergy and people, through personal sanctity of these religious; thus in a measure restoring a state of affairs which Fr. Galtier believes to have existed in the early centuries. This is a book which ought not to be overlooked by any student of penitential discipline in the patristic period.

TREVOR JALLAND.

*The Buddha and the Christ.* An Exploration of the Meaning of the Universe and of the Purpose of Human Life.

The Bampton Lectures for 1932. By BURNETT HILMAN STREETER. (London: Macmillan. 1932). Price, 7s. 6d.

WHEN in 1930 the Heads of Houses at Oxford elected Canon Streeter to the Bampton Lectureship, they did so—if we may venture to conjecture the motives which actuated their corporate mind—presumably on the ground of his proved talent and versatility; for it is no secret that Canon Streeter had not himself applied for the Lectureship. Like Charles Gore, forty years earlier, Canon Streeter was not a "candidate." He had submitted no theme, still less a syllabus; and it must have been a matter of very considerable speculation in the minds of the electors as to the subject with which their choice would grace their invitation. It might have been the textual criticism of the New Testament; it might have been the *Quellenkritik* of the Synoptic Gospels; it might have been the portrait of the historic Christ; it might have been the organization of the Primitive Church; it might have been the

development of English chained libraries; it might have been the philosophical basis of modern science; or it might have been the relation of religion to art. In one sense, it was a singular risk for the Heads of Houses to have elected an expert in such varied fields as Professor Streeter, for not the wisest of them could have prognosticated the subject that he might have to listen to for eight solid hours. In another sense, there were very few theologians in whom it would have been possible to have put more trust, for we can think of no subject which Canon Streeter has touched—as regards “chained libraries” we are relying on hearsay—which he has not greatly illuminated. He invariably speaks and writes with freshness, and seldom without making a valuable contribution to the subject under discussion.

Nevertheless, the wildest speculations as to the subject of the forthcoming lectures hardly extended as far as Buddhism. Yet such it was to be. In the autumn of 1931, the Lecturer set off on a second journey to the Far East, and made investigations of his subject at first-hand. He determined to present Buddhism in his lectures, not from the standpoint of the textbook of “comparative religion,” but as manifested as a living system through immediate contact with it. And in his presentation he has been singularly successful. Buddhism is represented as a philosophy of life with noble ideals and permanent values. It is one of the paths which the human spirit pursues in its search for God. It is compared and contrasted with another path which that spirit has trodden in its quest, and Buddhism is shewn, with all its excellences, to be a far less adequate one. “Christ was a carpenter, the Buddha was a prince; they experienced life from different angles. The Buddha was a philosopher; Jesus had the mind of a poet. They thought and spoke in different modes. Each for the sake of miserable humanity made the supreme sacrifice—the Christ in submitting to death, the Buddha by consenting to live” (p. 42).

From the first page of the lectures to the last, the attitude which Canon Streeter adopts is that of a sincere searcher after truth. To this quest, the discussions of Buddhism are all subordinated. Large tracts of the lectures have little to do with Buddhism at all. Thus most of the first lecture is concerned with the relations existing between religion and science,

and in these pages Canon Streeter develops the theses which he had expounded in his book, *Reality*. The sixth lecture is mainly concerned with the problem of suffering, particularly as developed in the Biblical tradition. The seventh lecture is an attempt to formulate the moral ideal for man. Many of these discussions are really admirable; though we must admit that we were familiar with much of what is best in them before we heard and read the Lectures, from the presentation of them in Canon Streeter's earlier writings.

The theme of the first lecture stands to-day in a somewhat different position from that at which it stood at the time when *Reality* was published. In the meantime the wave of enthusiasm for Jeans and Eddington has passed over these islands. Dr. Streeter has been at considerable pains to discover the nature and implications of the new theories in physics. He tells us that he has submitted the pages in the lectures which deal with this subject to revision by a qualified scientist. But we cannot help feeling that the author has been a little too ready in them to accept the physicists at their own estimation. No one recognises more fully than Canon Streeter the limitations of the physicists when they come to deal with the whole structure of Reality; as he constantly insists, the realm of values never enters into their investigations. But (we may ask) are not the physicists subject to similar limitations when they come to deal with the structure of their own field of investigation? It can never be too strongly insisted that physicists are not *ipso facto* philosophers; and accordingly there is no more reason why we shall trust the physicists when interpreting physics than we should trust them when interpreting religion. A scientist may be a "good" physicist without understanding the principles of his science just as a Christian may be a great mystic without understanding the Ontological argument.

In our judgement, Canon Streeter has been a little too ready to take the physicists at their word. He believes (though occasionally his assertions of this belief are somewhat qualified) that the natural sciences deal solely with questions of measurement, and refers with approval to Eddington's assertion that modern physics is being reduced to "pointer-readings." Now it is true that just at the moment, physics happens to be interested in the measurable properties of the

world of nature. For the last half century or so, it has been more concerned with such entities as wave-lengths than with those of colour. Nevertheless, colour is something to be investigated; and if it is not within the province of the science of nature to interpret it, in the province of what science does it lie? The point is that the realm of natural science is largely made up of the qualitative, as well as the quantitative; and any attempt to limit the field of natural science on the ground that it deals only with the quantitative, whereas the qualitative aspects of Reality as such lead on to religion and art, is rooted in a far too limited conception of the possibilities of the natural sciences.

And (another point raised by Canon Streeter's discussion of the philosophy of science) we cannot help enquiring—with all due respect to Eddington and his friends—if they really believe that the atomic entities have no spatial structure. They may tell us so, and go on to argue that recent physics has upset the classical ideas of space and time. But, we must object, is it from molecular physics alone, or even chiefly, that we derive our conceptions of space and time? We still go on measuring with our tape measures and using our clocks. Time, at any rate, is revealed to us through "mental" experience, which may be supposed to be as trustworthy as "physical" experience; and so revealed it is something quite different from space. Of (roughly) spherical bodies we have the descending series: the sun, the earth, the globe at Swanage, an orange, a marble, a pearl. Can we seriously believe that there comes a point where physical entities cease to be "in space"? The contention we would urge is that our conception of space is something so much more fundamental to all thinking (including the physicists') about the world of nature than any of the other conceptions which the physicist uses, that it is incredible that any of his results should be able to overthrow it. If space (or time, either, for that matter) is to be dethroned, it must be by conceptions more radical than itself. Kant was at least justified in attacking space and time, because he did so from the deeper standpoint of philosophy. But the physicists have no such tools with which to work.

The volume has many pregnant sayings, of which the following are instances: "The world cannot be saved by a



'Grand Perhaps' " (p. 37). "Where the Buddha was most himself, there he was most like Christ" (p. 71). "The history of Christian theology is in the main the history of an *unsuccessful* attempt to express, in terms of an intellectualist philosophy, the belief, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father' " (pp. 131 f.). "Calvin was the last, and not the least, of the great scholastics" (p. 136). "To live by logic is like playing billiards on board a channel steamer on a choppy day; the better the aim, the more certain a miss" (p. 138). "The Bible is not a book; it is a library" (p. 196).

F. L. CROSS.

*Religion and Revelation.* By A. L. LILLEY. (S.P.C.K.), 4s. 6d. net.

CANON LILLEY is one of those rare authors who are able to put great matters into a small compass, and his Paddock Lectures are a remarkable example of this art. The book is easy to read and contains very few quotations or special references, but it is written from a background of wide learning both in the field of Biblical study and that of the history of Christian thought.

He begins by stating the problem of revelation from the standpoint of an English Churchman. He points out that Anglican theology of the last two generations is almost insensibly departing from the traditional conception of revelation, whereas the Roman Church has held fast to the earlier view. The change which has taken place in the English theology of revelation is well illustrated by references to the famous Bampton Lectures of Dr. Mozley in 1865. The author passes on to consider the human need of a Divine revelation and points out that Christianity, Judaism and Islam agree in the view that without revelation man could not have an adequate knowledge either of God or of his own nature. Canon Lilley moves easily and with confidence in the Scholastic philosophy and is specially valuable in his exposition of the theology of Aquinas. Probably the difference between Augustine and Aquinas on the subject of the relation between science and revelation has never been so clearly brought out before. The author has some important remarks on the subject of the letter of Scripture in the traditional and scholastic conception of

revelation. It is sometimes alleged that the Roman Catholic Church is able to adopt a freer attitude towards the Bible than orthodox Protestantism. Canon Lilley makes it abundantly clear that, so long as the Roman Church remains faithful to Thomism, it is committed to the inerrancy of the letter of Scripture. The whole chapter on the interpretation of Scripture is most illuminating and lucid. Canon Lilley, perhaps wisely, allows less space to the contribution made by the Reformers to the doctrine of revelation. He gives us, however, a full account of Calvin's doctrine of the Testimony of the Holy Spirit, and his new departure in the doctrine of revelation. "What he was ready to contend against to the death was the assignment of ultimate religious value to any external motive of belief in Divine Revelation. He would uphold in its fullest rigour the traditional doctrine that faith was of God only. The Divine authority of Scripture must bear the authentic impress of the Divine seal. And that meant that Scripture could not have absolute and irrefragable authority for us until we heard God speaking to us through it." This exposition of Calvin may be connected with what the author has to say upon the theology of Karl Barth, which he rightly regards as a re-affirmation in an even more extreme form of Calvin's testimony of the Spirit. His criticism of Karl Barth seems to us to be penetrating and indeed almost conclusive. His chief complaint concerning it is that it seems to involve a supersession or even a suppression of the human reason and conscience.

Canon Lilley does not profess to have a completely adequate theory of revelation to put in the place of the traditional one, but in his concluding Lecture, which is modestly entitled "Towards Revision," he throws out some suggestions which at least lay the foundation for a modern presentation of the doctrine. He holds that English theology is in a particularly favourable position for dealing with the problem, but will have nothing to do with the attempt to exalt the authority of the Church at the expense of Scripture. Essentially revelation is the experience of God in the human spirit. The difficulties of accounting for the frequent arrest of the development of the religious knowledge of God may perhaps partly be removed by supposing that stagnation and decline are a consequence of man's premature satisfaction with inadequate experience of the Divine power.

If we ask what is the criterion of value which can be applied to alleged revelation, though we must not rule out altogether the part to be played by the philosophical and moral reason, it is ultimately the religious sense itself which gives us the touchstone by which we can distinguish pretended revelation from real and lower revelation from higher. Thus, in the end, it would seem that Canon Lilley comes back to a position not far removed from Calvin's Testimony of the Holy Spirit.

He concludes his book by an interesting argument tending to show that revealed truth resembles poetical symbolism and cannot be compressed into the clear-cut propositions which the logical reason demands.

The present reviewer is so much in agreement with the point of view which is represented by this book that he finds it difficult to criticise. At only one point has it suggested itself to him that a modification might be justifiable. Does Canon Lilley give sufficient consideration to the idea that the continuing corporate experience of the Christian Church is an element in our heritage of revelation? We can say without exaggeration that this book is one of the most important contributions which has been made in recent times to constructive theology, and its admirable style makes it not only easy to read but an attractive starting point for discussion. We hope that it may be widely used by groups in connexion with the Way of Renewal.

W. R. MATTHEWS.

*The Anatomy of Modern Science.* By BERNHARD BAVINK.  
(Bell & Sons). 21s.

MR. STAFFORD HATFIELD translates this able survey of modern science from the fourth German edition, with additional notes and a bibliography for English readers. This volume professes to be an introduction to the scientific philosophy of our day, and such it assuredly is. Part I explores the many-sidedness of force and matter; Part II cosmos and earth; Part III matter and life; and Part IV nature and man. Not for a single moment do we deem ourselves able to appreciate the labours of the author in such varied fields as physics and anthropology and psychology, including the modern work on chemistry, astronomy and cosmology, biology and eugenics,

the brain, problems of the soul and consciousness, psychical research, spiritualism, and our relation with God. All we can modestly state is that wherever we have been in a position to test the accuracy of Dr. Bavink's statements, accurate we have found them. Not only were they accurate, but the brilliancy with which they were put swept us off our feet.

A book like this easily makes us forget how new a thing science really is. We readily forget—in fact, it takes us by surprise—that the Reformers in knowledge of the world they lived in stood on a level no higher than Aristotle. They completed a stately edifice of Christian doctrine, but the first of them barely lived to see the laying of the foundation stone of modern science. Luther was already at school when America was discovered: his work was almost over when Copernicus published his theory of the Universe. Modern scientific method looks back to Bacon as its founder, but in his time the Reformation doctrines had been already formulated. As late as 1616 Galileo could be condemned for asserting the rotation of the earth. When Newton discovered the law of gravitation the Prayer Book of Edward VI had been a hundred and forty years in existence. The foundations of modern chemistry, geology, and botany were not laid till the eighteenth century, and biology practically belongs to the nineteenth. From all these sciences the conception of a law-pervaded Universe has taken hold of the public mind—a hold which has been strengthened by that doctrine of evolution which all scientists accept as a working hypothesis and most of them as a great deal more. Behind all that Dr. Bavink puts before the reader, there is this conception of a law-pervaded Universe.

To-day the conception of a law-pervaded Universe is fast disappearing, thanks not to the theologians but to the scientists themselves. The nineteenth century lived on the idea of the reign of law in the field of science. And suddenly with the discovery of radium, combined with the novel doctrines of Clerk-Maxwell and Lorentz, Monsieur and Madame Curie, Poincaré and Minkowski, Niels Bohr and Einstein, the very principles and foundations of the scientific world crash about our ears. Are there any principles? Does the earth move, after all? Is there any ether? What do we mean exactly by the conservation of energy? Are all mechanical forces merely phases of electro-magnetism? Do laws evolve and change like



living things? Is it a case where there are as well as a living chess-player also living chess-pieces? Do laws, *e.g.*, Max Planck's law of the quantum, advance disconcertingly by leaps and bounds and brusque mutations? Is their simplicity a mask which we set on the complex anarchy of nature? Is science a mere convention—a set, in fact, of cunningly devised fables? Are the laws of science just, as it were, the rules of the game? Is there anything, the law of the quantum and the second law of thermo-dynamics, the only two laws universally received at this moment, of which we can be sure that in science it will be true in another thousand years? At least, Dr. Bavink compels us to ask questions.

Questions like these can be found in all the fructifying essays of Henri Poincaré, the genius of France but yesterday, and to-day he is with Newton and Kelvin, with Laplace and Lagrange. He is not read among us to anything like the extent his delightful writings entitle him. His was an intelligence as universal as Leonardo da Vinci's. He began with mathematics, and only the mathematician can appreciate his discoveries in mathematical analysis and in differential equations. He is the creator of the *fonctions fuschiennes* which gave a fresh impetus to the non-Euclidean conceptions of Boylai, Lobatchewski, and Riemann. Poincaré was an inventor in geometry, he was an inventor in physics, he was a discoverer in astronomy; and it is not amazing to us that he occupied, one after another, the chairs of these sciences at the Sorbonne. One day the Dean exclaimed, "Unfortunately the Faculty possesses no Chair of Scientific Philosophy, or we could ask Poincaré to fill it!"

What this universal scientific genius discovered, others popularised, for he had—and deserved to have—many pupils. Seldom was a master more worthy of the homage his students unstintedly rendered to him. In astronomy he could write: "Les méthodes de Lagrange et de Laplace ne sont plus valables pour quelques siècles et non, comme on le croyait, pour milliers et des milliers d'années; les fondements sur lesquels s'appuient les astronomes pour faire leurs merveilleuses predictions sont, en réalité, ruineux." Is there a page in his many volumes—we could wish that there were many more volumes of his essays—in which there does not appear how "ruineux" is the conception of laws eternally true? Is there a page where we do not hear of the contingency, the transitoriness, the approximate-

ness, the imperfection without exception, of the laws of science? What, then, is there? Is there any such thing as absolute truth? Not at all. There are scientific hypotheses which sensible men employ because they must, despite the Newtonian idea of non fingo hypotheses, employ them. In fact, we are fast coming to the stage in which we think a scientific law a clever guess in the average world in which we live, but quite untrue in the world of the infinitely great, the planet, and equally quite untrue in the world of the infinitely small, the electron, or whatever term we may apply to the minutest quantity of matter—if indeed there is any matter.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

*An Introduction to Schleiermacher.* By J. A. CHAPMAN, Professor of Systematic Theology, Wesley College, Leeds. (London: Epworth Press, 1932). Price, 4s.

MR. CHAPMAN has rendered a useful service to theology by this volume. A violent battle is raging in post-War German Protestantism around the name of the author of the *Reden über die Religion* and of the *Christliche Glaube*. The two alternatives—Barth and Irrationalism on the one hand, and Schleiermacher and Incarnationalism on the other—stand in stark opposition, and it is impossible in Germany to halt long between these two opinions. According as to whether a synthesis between Christianity and modern culture is believed to be impossible or possible of attainment, theologians are ranged under the one or the other of these two banners. Of the first answer we have heard much—perhaps a little too much—recently. We gladly welcome, therefore, a volume which presents us with a lucid account of the scholar, preacher, philosopher, and divine, whose name symbolizes to-day the Religion of the Incarnation.

Through Nature to God. That was the key to Schleiermacher's attitude to the Universe. He was one of the leaders of the Romantic Movement; and like most writers of this school, was influenced deeply by Kant's *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*. Mr. Chapman, in an illuminating chapter, draws out the parallelism between Wordsworth and

Schleiermacher. Both believed that God was to be discovered through the world of Nature. "When the philosophers shall become religious and seek God like Spinoza, and the artists be pious and love Christ like Novalis, the great resurrection shall be celebrated for both worlds" (*Reden*, quoted p. 35). But for Schleiermacher, it was above all through art that man was to find the road up to Heaven. Religion—such is the theme of the *Reden*—is in essence neither metaphysics nor morality. It is Art. It is *Anschauung* and *Gefühl*.

A conception of religion which puts such faith in æsthetic experience easily lends itself to criticism on the grounds of Subjectivism, and it is on these grounds that Schleiermacher is incessantly criticized by the exponents of the Theology of Crisis. These disciples of Neo-Calvinism bandy about the words Subjectivism and Objectivism as though the one and only form of "Objective" theology were that of Barth. Barthianism—just because it rejects rational thought—is thrown back on the language of paradox, and the substitution of *clichés* for reasoned argument; and it has found the word "Objectivism" a singularly useful one to appropriate to itself. But the assumption that the only form of "Objectivism" is that of this school is, of course, completely mistaken. Medieval thought was objective enough, yet it was poles removed from the teaching of Barth. Schleiermacher is admittedly over-subjective. But the proper criticism of his teaching is not to rush to the other extreme, but (we believe) to analyse further the inadequate concept of experience upon which Schleiermacher relied.

Unlike many books dealing with such subjects, Mr. Chapman's volume is readable as well as scholarly. It is, however, not quite free from errors. On p. 20, the reference to the extract from Plato's *Apology* is incorrect (it should be 38A); and we are not quite convinced that the translation of ἀνεξέταστος will stand. Neither Jowett nor H. N. Fowler supports it. On page 26, the title of Schleiermacher's Dialogue should be corrected to *Das Weihnachtsfeier*. The phrase "Either-Or" in the Barthian School was not coined by Brunner (p. 130). It goes back at least to Kierkegaard (*Enten-Eller*). On p. 143, *pas excellence!*

F. L. CROSS.

*Belief in Man.* By P. S. RICHARDS. (S.P.C.K. 1932).

As an apologia for Christianity addressed to that cultured public which is most inclined to look upon it as an effete superstition, this book has few equals. Its fine phrasing, dexterous argument, wide allusiveness, and delicate proportions make it at once a delight to the reader and an armoury to the preacher or teacher. We should be accusing Mr. Richards of a *petitio principii* if we said that he adopted humanist premisses and from them demonstrated Christian conclusions; for humanism can have many very different premisses. It is better to say that he makes a bold bid for the truth of Christian humanism by showing that humanism on any other basis can succeed only in stultifying itself.

Thus in his introduction it is shown that only if man is treated as a Real Kind (and not as a "transitory experiment in Nature's laboratory") can "vast tracts of human experience" be adequately covered and explained. The first chapter is an admirable treatment of the so-called evolutionary theory, and shows how incapable it is of filling the bottomless gap between matter and mind without admitting, under cover of one ambiguity or another, the Christian doctrine of final causes. The second chapter applies this conclusion, with magnificent effect, to the evolutionary theory of morality. Chapter three exhibits the barrenness of psychoanalytic and behaviourist presuppositions; and having thus cleared the ground the author can proceed to write of "Art and Beauty," of "Religion," and of "Christianity"; interpolating, by the way, a fascinating chapter on "The Study of the Classics"; and an epilogue on the "Medieval Contribution."

We abstain deliberately from quoting any passage from the book, for we should wish everyone to read its telling sentences and paragraphs in their original context. But a reviewer may be allowed the luxury of a few reflections upon its importance as a sign of the times. So long as Christian theology went unmoved upon the way which tradition had marked out for it (and in England, at least, this was the dominant characteristic of nineteenth century theology) the naturalistic account of man and his origins, equipped at all points for a mass attack, had things all its own way. So damaging was the attack, that



we found ourselves obliged, for two generations at least, to reconstruct the defences from their foundations. This is the real significance of the priority given to biblical criticism in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. That work has in the main been done. So far as his own sphere is concerned the biblical student is no longer afraid for his positions. He knows what "modern thought" has to say, and he knows how to reply.

Simultaneously, the naturalistic attack has weakened; for, as is well known, the older "mechanistic" view of the universe has begun to falter, and nothing has taken its place except vague idealist speculations. The time is ripe, therefore, for the Christian counter-attack. But we must not be mistaken as to the type of action which is needed. The mere "restatement of the faith in modern terms"—a rebuilding of the castle, raising the fallen standards, blowing the refurbished trumpets—will not be enough. The modern mind has lost interest in Christianity; and if it is no longer in servitude to naturalism, it has certainly not reverted to its allegiance. Rather, it is wandering uncertainly between the two camps, with a bias still against Christianity; and nothing short of a vigorous campaign of conquest will regain it.

Mr. Richards' book shows us the way in which such a campaign should be conducted. It is at once courageous and ruthless in dealing with shams; it recognizes no limits within which it must confine its arguments; like all true Christian humanism, it is at home in every sphere which man's mind has opened up. Confidently Christian in tone and outlook, it does not wait for the champions of science or literature, or æsthetics, or economics, or *welt-politik*, to offer alternative ways of life: it invades their domains and provides them with a Christian thesis which shall make their respective cults worth while. It is to be read not for its own sake alone—despite the fact that every page of it is well worth reading more than once; it is to be read still more as a demonstration of the spirit in which Christianity should be invading and pervading the modern world; and as an example which should inspire others to join Mr. Richards in his campaign of humanized dialectic.

K. E. K.

*On Being Creative and Other Essays.* By IRVING BABBITT.  
(Constable.) 266 pp. 7s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR BABBITT is one of the most distinguished authors now writing in the United States; this may not seem very high praise, for when we turn to writers like Mencken, Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis or John Dos Passos, we have to confess that there is, in spite of great ability, a cheap and nasty element in American literature, which does not encourage us to adopt a Twist-like attitude, and ask for more. But Professor Babbitt would be a notable writer anywhere; he has a reasoned and noble philosophy of life, he is master of a clear style; and he is as omniscient as any human being ought to be.

He is best known, of course, as the apostle of Humanism—that is, of the cultivation of the higher will, the elimination of what the Orthodox call Original Sin, and the bringing of one's being into a reasonable and harmonious whole. This view of life is meant for those who aim at Christian character, though they can no longer accept the dogmatic theories upon which this character has in the past been built up. Devotion to the Higher Will has in the past been identified with God's will and the operation of grace. It has been urged, therefore, that the humanist should logically turn to Christian theology. "I am unable," says Professor Babbitt, "to agree with those who deny humanism independent validity, who hold that it must be *Ancilla Theologiae*, or at least *religionis*. One has to face the fact, an unfortunate fact, perhaps, that there are many men of good will for whom dogmatic and revealed religion has become impossible. Are they, therefore, to be banished into outer darkness where there is wailing and gnashing of teeth?"

Mr. T. S. Eliot has criticised very acutely Professor Babbitt's views; he has pointed out that humanism has always flourished most when controlled by religion, and if for that control there is substituted merely the inner control of the individual, there is in most cases great danger of collapse. "For those who had not followed Mr. Babbitt very far, and had felt his influence more remotely, the collapse would be back again into humanitarianism, thinly disguised. For others who had followed him hungrily to the end and had found no hay in the stable, the collapse might well be into a Catholicism without the element of humanism and criticism, which would be a Catholicism of despair." But Mr. Eliot agrees that "there is

a type of person whom we call the humanist for whom humanism is enough. This type is valuable," and humanism is valuable "as a mediating and corrective ingredient in a positive civilization founded on belief." That its use as a corrective ingredient is sadly needed in modern religion we might all agree. To most people religion and social service seem to have become synonymous; and the salvation of the world is being sought in mass movements, leagues, philanthropic schemes, and such like. We have to recall people to the truth that the first thing needful is the bringing of our own nature under the control of the Higher Will; religion in one sense must begin at home if it is to be of any avail. "One may recognize innumerable incidental advantages in the Gospel of Service and yet harbor an uneasy suspicion withal that in the passage from the older religion to the modern humanitarian dispensation something vital has disappeared, something for which neither the outer working of the utilitarian, nor, again, the expansive sympathy of the sentimentalist, can offer an equivalent." We might go back here to the greatest Authority, and remember the words: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

This book is, however, not exclusively devoted to Humanism, though the attitude of the author to life naturally permeates his views on literature and art. In many of these essays he comes before us as a shrewd critic, ready to point out what is wrong in modern views of art and life,

"And struck his finger on the place  
And said thou ailest here and here."

Nowhere is he more successful than when exposing the folly of the prevalent ideas of genius, or the false teaching about realism in art; genius, he rightly insists, is something more than spontaneity, freed from tradition and without standards. Wordsworth, following Rousseau, fell into this heresy. If only we can become as little children and lean upon nature, she will teach us all we need to know. True wisdom is to be found in the primitive man, and we can learn more from the leech gatherer and the pedlar than from the scholar or the philosopher. So now we are asked to look for inspiration in the baby babblings of Gertrude Stein and the more incoherent passages of James Joyce. Of course, it is difficult to preserve a pure idea of what genius is in an age which is notable for a

mass of competent writers but graced by no outstanding figure. The tendency is to hide our poverty by crediting nearly all writers with genius in the hope that they may return the compliment, and we, too, may be found among the elect.

Mr. Babbitt is equally severe, and rightly so, on the false views of the modern realist; he shews that the theory which inspires his work, that man is merely the victim of a mechanical fate, tends to make him fix his attention solely on what is unpleasant in life. "He must sacrifice the depth and subtlety that arise from the recognition in some form of the duality of man's nature." "When we learn, for example, that some one has written a realistic study of a great man, we are sure in advance that he has devoted his main effort to proving that Plutarch lied." Hence the dreary waste of Dreiser's *American Tragedy* and the unrelieved dreariness of *Ulysses*. And an even more fatal result than these, the works of Mr. Lytton Strachey, whose whole aim and ambition was to shew that there is no real nobility in life. Shew me your hero, he seems to say, and I will shew you his feet of clay.

"She gabbled as she groped in the dead  
And all the people were pleased;  
'See, what a little heart,' she said,  
'And the liver is half-diseased.'"

The realist needs to regain a sense of proportion, and to face the fact that a picture of life which is wholly unpleasant is no more true than one which depicts only what is beautiful and good. Both the realist and the sentimentalist are sadly lopsided, and as a consequence, their work lacks the symmetry which is essential to true art.

In an age like this, which is admittedly one of confusion, and which is dominated by what we may call mob taste, not only in politics but in art as well, we need a writer like Mr. Babbitt to recall us to a more aristocratic view of life, to a harder criticism, and to a more zealous self-culture. If at times, as Arnold did, he seems to be too obviously on a pedestal, too consciously draped in a Toga, this can be forgiven him because of what he gives us—a philosophy of life which is noble and austere; literary criticism of a very high order; and a real and penetrating knowledge of the civilisation of both East and West.

S. ADDLESHAW.



## SHORT NOTICES

*Die Biblische Paradiesesgeschichte.* ERKLÄRT VON KARL BUDDE.  
(Töpelmann, Geissen). 4.80 marks.

THIS is a commentary, exegetical, grammatical, and text-critical, on the Paradise-story contained in *Gen.* ii, 4—iii, 23. Budde's main object, however, is to show that the form of the story does not consist of a combination of extracts from a variety of sources, but that only two variants of the original story have been combined by a redactor. This theory was put forth long ago by Budde, but he has now elaborated it with great insight and ingenuity in the volume before us. The objection to his contention, which is shared by a number of critical scholars, is expressed by Skinner (*Genesis*, p. 3) in the words: "One feels that he has worked on too narrow a basis by confining his attention to successive over-workings of the same literary tradition, and not making sufficient allowance for the simultaneous existence of relatively independent forms." Now, however, that Budde has given us this minute and most convincing statement of his theory, we doubt whether the objections to it will be found to hold good. It is a masterpiece of sound and level-headed argument. But apart from this main point, the commentary is full of interesting and suggestive material, and will be found most helpful and illuminating for the study of the Biblical section dealt with.

W.O.E.O.

*Zentral Kultstätte und Kultuszentralisierung im alten Israel.*

By EDUARD KÖNIG. (Bertelsmann, Gütersloh). 2.50 marks

THIS small book of 84 pp. is a drastic criticism of Östreicher's volume *Reichstempel und Ortsheiligtümer in Israel*. The most important part of the discussion deals with the latter's interpretation of *Deut.* xii, 1-19, especially verses 11, 13 and the other passages of similar import; verse 11 runs: ". . . the place which the Lord your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there, thither shall ye bring all that I command you; your burnt offerings . . ." Östreicher maintains that in all these passages the definite article in Hebrew must be understood in a 'general sense, so that in all the passages in question the meaning is not "the" place, but "every" place.' Starting from this assumption Östreicher argues that the idea of the centralization of worship supposed to have been instituted during Josiah's reformation is erroneous. König's refutation of Östreicher's thesis seems to us to be overwhelming. König shows further, in opposition

to Östreicher, that the "book of the law" found in this Temple (ii *Kings* xx, 8) is to be identified with, at any rate, the kernel of Deuteronomy; he places the two together in comparison in an absolutely convincing manner (pp. 52 ff.). With certain other contentions of König many scholars would doubtless disagree, and the spirit in which he attacks his adversary is not always in the best taste; but it is to König's credit that so far as this central point is concerned he has shown incontrovertibly that the hitherto accepted interpretation is the correct one.

W.O.E.O.

*Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josefus.*

VON A. SCHLATTER. (Bertelsmann, Gütersloh). 14 marks.

THIS is an exceedingly important book for the study of Judaism and the thought-movements which lie behind the New Testament, quite apart from its value in other directions. A new book from the writer of the *Geschichte Israels von Alexander dem Grossen bis Hadrian* is in itself an event of importance in the theological world.

To do justice to a book of this kind in a short review is frankly impossible; we must content ourselves with merely indicating the matters with which it deals; but this will be sufficient to show the importance of the book and its indispensability to those interested in the religion of the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era.

An essential point, as Professor Schlatter reminds us, in studying Josephus' attitude towards the movements, religious and other, in his day, is to bear in mind that while he was, on the one hand, an historian, he was, on the other, a Pharisee; it will be realized that this must be constantly borne in mind if one is to estimate rightly much that he says.

The work contains eleven chapters, or rather essays, in each of which is gathered together all that Josephus says about the subject dealt with, to which the author adds many elucidatory comments. In opening the *Antiquities* with a reference to *Gen. i, 1*, Josephus sounds the decisive note which differentiates the religion of Jerusalem from all others: man and all that Nature presents to him is the work of God. By this doctrine of God Josephus championed the Palestinian tradition and preserved it from being contaminated by the Jewish-hellenistic theology with which he must have come in contact in the synagogues in Rome where he sojourned for so long. There follows a detailed examination of Josephus' conception of God, the consideration of which brings to the fore a great variety of subsidiary matters germane to the main subject. The second essay deals further with the doctrine of God from the point of view of his relation to men,

as Father and Lord. Next, the subject of the "People of God" is treated, and here, among other things, Josephus' ideas on inspiration are spoken of. There follow two essays on "Piety" and "Righteousness" which contain an immense amount of interesting material concerning Pharisaic doctrine compared with that of Josephus on these matters. A short essay on Liberal Thought ("Freisinn") is followed by three essays of special interest: the "Pharisaic Movement," the "Zealotic Movement," and the "Gnostic Ferment" ("Die gnostische Gärung.") Then comes one on the "Relation of Israel to other Peoples," and finally one on "The Future."

This bald outline, however, gives but little indication of the mass of valuable material contained in this volume; it must be read to realize this. We can only express our profound gratitude to Professor Schlatter for this work of permanent value.

W.O.E.O.

*The Talmud.* By DUDLEY WRIGHT. (Williams & Norgate). 7s. 6d.

IN a foreword to this small volume Mr. Herbert Loewe says that a book such as this is needed, and badly needed. That is true; no less true is it when he says that Mr. Wright has collected "a wealth of information on the literary and historical side that will carry the reader a good many stages forward." The book is very well arranged: we are first given an excellent insight into what the Talmud is; here, in a comparatively small space, the reader is presented with sufficient detail to give him a clear idea of what the Talmud actually is. Then we have the history of how the Talmud came to be written; and again the writer's aptitude in giving much in few though clearly expressed words is illustrated. In a third chapter there is a thoroughly readable account of the Tannaim ("Teachers") who were the founders of the Mishnah; this is followed by a description of the Palestinian Talmud, the originators of which were the Amoraim or "Interpreters," *i.e.* of the Mishnah; and chapters are also devoted to the Babylonian Talmud and its Amoraim. A final chapter is added on the Burnings of the Talmud, which contains a number of interesting historical details.

The book is written for those who know nothing about the Talmud, and therein lies its value for the great mass of people: for there are very few who have any knowledge of it, and Mr. Wright takes nothing for granted. He has done his work well, and his book is to be cordially recommended.

W.O.E.O.

*The Jewish Background of Christianity.* By Rev. N. LEVISON. (T. & T. Clark).

It is necessary to add the sub-title, "A manual of the political, religious, social, and literary life of the Jews from 586 B.C. to A.D. 1," otherwise the title itself would be misleading; but we fully realise that Mr. Levison must have experienced some difficulty in fixing on the title of his book. In offering this brief survey of a long and often difficult period of history the writer has accomplished a useful piece of work which should be welcomed by those for whom it is written. As Mr. Levison writes for a general public he is probably right in glossing over various problems and difficulties which have long exercised the minds of scholars; but he has omitted to refer to some subjects which are essential in a book dealing with the Jewish background of Christianity. The different conceptions of the Messiah and the Messianic Age in the early post-exilic period ought certainly to have been dealt with; the diverse ideas of Zechariah on these subjects are highly instructive. The subject of the theocracy ought also to have received some notice. There are other matters which are regrettably unnoticed. And unfortunately there is no evidence of the writer's acquaintance with a number of outstanding modern works which have revolutionized many ideas which used to be held regarding a variety of subjects. But in spite of some blemishes Mr. Levison's book has much information which will be found useful.

W.O.E.O.

*Jesus and his Apostles.* By FELIX KLEIN, honorary Professor of the Catholic Institute, Paris. Translated by W. P. BAINES. (Longmans). 10s. 6d.

THE author's aim in this book appears to be to provide a narrative of the public ministry of our Lord, based on a harmonisation of the Four Gospels. While the narrative is written in his own words, it contains frequent and lengthy quotations from the Gospels, so that at times it almost takes the form of a *Diatessaron*. Perhaps fortunately the author adds little imaginative colouring to the Gospel-record; though occasionally he treats conjecture as fact, as when he states that "Andrew was the oldest (apostle)," or is guilty of inaccuracy, as when he says of Nathanael (identified with Bartholomew), "The Gospel which emphasises his vocation does not mention him again afterwards, except in the several lists of the Twelve, always beside his friend Philip."

The author adopts the conception of the life of Christ which is characteristic of Roman Catholic writers. Though he twice affirms that the human nature of Jesus was "like ours in all respects except for sin," he does not seem to regard the divine powers of



the Son of God to have been in any way limited by the Incarnation. We are told that "he accomplished" miracles "with no more effort than his acts of every day," a statement not attested by the Gospel accounts of the cure of the blind man in *Mark* viii, 22, and of the raising of Lazarus. The statement that Jesus "could do no mighty work" in Nazareth (*Mark* vi, 5) is not noticed; instead the author tells us: "He definitely refused to display his power merely to satisfy their pride and curiosity." Nor is mention made of the Son's ignorance of the "day and the hour" of the Second Coming (*Mark* xiii, 32). Our Lord's ascription of the 110th Psalm to David presents, of course, no difficulty to the author.

Similar limitations are noticeable in the treatment of the Gospel narratives themselves. The order of events recorded by each evangelist is regarded as strictly chronological; consequently when sayings of our Lord which modern scholars agree in assigning to the original source occur in different contexts in the First and Third Gospels, these sayings are treated as having been uttered on two separate occasions. Minor contradictions in the Gospels are easily overcome. According to Mark the apostles were commanded to take a staff on their mission-journeys, though in the accounts of Matthew and Luke a staff is forbidden. The author comments: "The Apostles, may be, were not to obtain a staff specially for the journey, but to content themselves with what they might pick up from day to day."

It would have been impossible for the author to observe strictly the limitations imposed by Roman Catholic authority upon the study of the New Testament and yet to produce a Life of Christ which should have permanent theological value. Anglican scholars will be unable to assent to the statement of Cardinal Verdier in his eulogistic prefatory letter:

*"Que vous ayez étudié à fond les derniers et très remarquables travaux dont l'Evangile a été l'objet de la part des érudits, des théologiens, et des exégètes, personne d'informé ne manquera de s'en apercevoir."*

The book, however, has considerable literary merits which are not entirely lost in the English translation. Although in the earlier chapters the original order of French words is sometimes so slavishly followed that the English sentences are rendered impossibly clumsy, the translator's style improves considerably as the book continues. English readers, however, will be irritated even in the later chapters by the transcription of extracts from the Gospels in the inferior language of the English Roman Catholic version of the New Testament.

*Empfänger und Verfasser des Briefes an die Hebräer.* By PROF. D. BORNHAÜSER. (Bertelsmann. Gütersloh. 1932). 2.80 marks.

THE Professor of Pastoral Theology at Marburg, in the present study of the Epistle to the Hebrews, has made a fresh examination of the problems of authorship and destination. As regards authorship, he reasserts the view of Tertullian—that the Epistle was written by St. Barnabas. On the subject of its destination, Professor Bornhäuser believes that it was addressed to Christian priests living in Jerusalem; the restriction to Jerusalem seems to be a new hypothesis.

F.L.C.

*Proskynein. Zur Anbetung im Urchristentum nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Eigenart.* VON JOHANNES HORST. Neutestamentliche Forschungen, herausgegeben von DR. OTTO SCHMITZ. (C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1932). 10 marks unbound; 12 marks bound.

THIS is an expansion of a thesis originally presented by the author to the Faculty of Evangelical Theology of the University of Münster, and is of considerably more permanent value than the majority of doctoral theses. It contains an extended and learned history of the concept of worship in pre-Christian and Christian times, based mainly on an analysis of the use of the word *προσκυνεῖν*. The author believes that on the first emergence of the word in history, it was used to express the bodily gesture involved in kissing the ground; and he contends that the associations of bodily movement are invariably connected with the word in N.T. usage. If so, then this philological study indicates that the N.T. knows nothing of worship except as combining inward devotion with outward act—i.e., that Christian worship was sacramental in character from the outset.

The author, who is a pastor in the United Evangelical Church of Poland, tells us that his investigation grew out of the recent liturgical awakening in German Protestantism—as represented, in very different forms, by Otto, Heiler, and Mensching. He takes as his motto Bengel's fine phrase, *ad adorationem tota religio potest reduci*.

F.L.C.

*The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the reign of John.* By Z. N. BROOKE. (Cambridge University Press. 1931.)

THIS book brings to a final and a welcome end a minor point of controversy which has engendered in its day a certain degree of bitterness. There were those who wished to believe that the

English Church was in a sense outside the general Christianity of the West, and showed an independence which, so thought some, anticipated the Reformation. They plumed themselves upon the title *Ecclesia Anglicana* as though it expressed a claim to be different from other local churches. Dr. Brooke shows that it was copied from the earlier *Ecclesia Gallicana*, and that it no more embodies a nationalist claim than does *Ecclesia Romana*. But what seemed the strongest evidence was that of law. Yet if the English Church had developed, or even begun to develop, a distinct legislation, it stands to reason that among the even excessively numerous manuscripts of the canon law written in or for English religious houses some would furnish proof of this divergence. Dr. Brooke has laboriously studied them, and is able confidently to assert the negative. In the various tentative collections which preceded the official canon law there is no hint of an English type. All are normal, dutifully copying what was current on the Continent. Incidentally, Dr. Brooke shows good grounds for holding that Heinrich Böhmer was wrong when he charged Lanfranc with deliberate forgery in the interests of Canterbury against York. There was forgery, as in so many other cases, but Lanfranc was personally innocent. The new light which Dr. Brooke has cast on many points of more general interest includes his condemnation of the impolicy of Henry II in defying his Archbishop by insisting on the formal recognition of rights which might long have been tolerated in practice had they been made discreetly inconspicuous; and the extension of papal authority in England which was part of the punishment inflicted for the murder of Becket.

E.W.W.

*Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century.*

By C. R. CHENEY, (Manchester University Press. 1931).

MR. CHENEY has produced a clear and business-like account of a procedure which had become necessary within a century of the great era of monastic foundation. He has had to contend with great difficulties; in England the bishops' registers systematically omit the visitation of monasteries, and often do not even record the injunctions, and elsewhere he has found nothing of importance save the incomparable register of Odo Rigaldi for his province and diocese and those of the successive popes. Thus his citations are drawn from all the West, though chiefly from England and France with adjacent parts of Germany. He is able to show a definite purpose, especially in Innocent III, of subjecting all religious houses, even the exempt, to visitation. If they were not subject to their own bishop, a neighbouring bishop would be charged to inspect them, or the archbishop of the province might

be called in. Mr. Cheney is able to cite two instances of primatial visitation, one of Armagh over Tuam, the other of Bourges over Bordeaux. The financial purpose is very conspicuous. Visitation of great monasteries was a form of papal taxation, and bishops insisted on receiving their procurations; Innocent IV laid down that these must not be remitted, for unless procurations were received no visitations would be held. The procedure at visitations, so far as the evidence goes, is well described; it set the pattern for the following periods, and Mr. Cheney's work makes an admirable introduction to the study of them. But we are not told how the Bishop of Worcester was able in 1292 to exact a procuration from the Cistercian abbey of Hailes. Was he acting under a legatine commission from Canterbury?

E.W.W.

*The Treasure of Sao Roque.* By W. TELFER. (S.P.C.K.). 8s. 6d. THE by-paths of history are wonderfully attractive and Mr. Telfer has marked out one of the most curious of them. For in his learned investigation he presents an unpublished collection of sixteenth century deeds authenticating relics of the saints in general and of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus in particular. The skull of this Father is claimed by Lisbon, where it is preserved among the relics in the church of São Roque, furnishing its great treasure. The Jesuits were in charge of this church, and they proceeded to add to the sacred relics it already possessed. Mr. Telfer outlines the history of this church, and has somewhat to say on the vicissitudes of the Jesuits from the sixteenth century onwards. In a tin box he found eighty-four documents which were authentications of relics. *Inter alia* we have de Campos's list of the relics of which the author makes much use. Incidentally, we learn much about the career of Don Juan de Borgia, Gregory XIII, and the Emperors Maximilian II, and Rudolph II. In fact, the by-path Mr. Telfer laboriously explores proves at times to be almost a main road. In his general conclusions he broadens the by-path till it becomes undoubtedly a thoroughfare for large traffic. For he proceeds to demonstrate that the antagonism of Protestants to a type of Catholic piety centred around the question of relics, and that in the Counter-Reformation the Jesuits regarded themselves as the defenders of relics which they extensively employed for the purposes of propaganda. In his *Traicté des Reliques*, Calvin proves from Scripture that the cult of relics is contrary to the will of God, and he sharpens this doctrinal position by the practical proof that many of the relics exposed for veneration could not possibly be genuine. The Jesuits ignored this attack,



and the Tridentine canon pursues the same policy. It lays down rules for the regulation of the practice of piety towards relics—that is all. For instance, a relic that has not been venerated previously, as a bone of a martyr but recently exhumed from the catacombs, must be submitted to official enquiry, before it may be treated as venerable. Mr. Telfer thus concludes his curiously fascinating book: "The principles at stake are of wider application than concerns the veneration of relics. There is, on the one hand, the mind's need of absolute intellectual sincerity and honesty; and on the other there is the heart's need of unquestioning devotion to an object of worship. It should be possible to satisfy these two needs simultaneously, instead of sacrificing one to the other. And yet this is still a fundamental problem of religion."

R.H.M.

*St. John of the Cross.* The Rede Lecture. By E. ALLISON PEERS. (C.U.P.). 75 pp. 2s. 6d. net.

THE occasion which produced it, its special direction,—to the Saint's "life and work . . . in relation to the world of to-day"—limit general criticism of this *brochure*. However it is permissible to suggest that Professor Peers tried to include too much. Twenty-two pages seem an undue share for the "life," even so failing to convey his superhuman endurance of pains, as St. John's fellow Carmelite, Père Bruno, *e.g.* has recently done. Further, is it possible or desirable to try to "interpret him in the terms of the twentieth century"? What, in our chaos of *clichés* and theories, actually are these "terms"? Are they such facile phrases as "at last there came deliverance," words which avoid Père Bruno's challenge to Jean Baruzi, asking how he regards the "escape from Toledo." He related the alleged facts carefully: what does modernity say? Or, to go to more vital matters, is it not true that St. John's "realities," being timeless, escape the transient terms of passing thought, and are better left as this sixteenth century Saint, ever *aux prises* with eternity, saw them? The last fifty pages are divided between St. John's poetry, asceticism and mysticism. Fourteen pages are too short for the first, space from the life might have been borrowed for it. True to his claim, in rebutting ill-informed criticism, that the Saint (p. 16) was "very human," Professor Peers, without mitigating facts, pleads effectively for his endurance, his real knowledge of human nature, "gained by merciless self-examination and long experience as a director—not of saints but of sinners," and finds the "justification of his ascetic teaching" in his harmonised life and his loveliness. Touching renunciation of natural beauty, the lecturer, by omission, lost his chance

of a desirable solution by synthesis. From *The Ascent*, he quotes many instances of recommendations to renunciation, and then attempts their reconciliation with contrary passages in the other writings, by contrasting "those of us who walk on lower levels" with "advanced spiritual athletes"; a true distinction, but not all the truth. Even for the athlete John, *The Ascent* (as elsewhere Professor Peers says) was only one stage: that past, nothing nullified his plea, that "the solitude and silence of the fields raise up the mind, so does the lovely sight of simple things." In the final pages, the Professor lets his predilection appear, and throwing "terms" aside, offers reality-loving youth the most cogent appeal possible, by claiming that John's mysticism "is, in its main lines, and in most of its details, experiential." And experience has its place and share in mortal attainment to truth.

G.H.

*Strangers and Sojourners at Port Royal.* By RUTH CLARK. (Cambridge University Press). 18s.

ALL who care for the religious history of the seventeenth century are deeply stirred by the contemporaneous events of Port Royal and Little Gidding, and indeed one of the reasons for our reading Miss Clark's exhaustive book was the eager desire to learn if there was any closer connexion between them. Apparently there was not. We can state that "the wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit," and that is all we can safely state. Miss Clark has so thoroughly steeped herself in the literature of Port Royal that no trace of a connexion between these two movements could escape her careful scrutiny. The purpose of her book is to investigate the connexions between the British Isles and the Jansenists of France and Holland, and in spite of her labours the connexions were but slight. Nevertheless, we are glad to read anything in the least likely to extend our knowledge of such remarkable men as Jansen and Pascal. We suspect that the *Lettres Provinciales* of the latter are among the reasons for the slender influence of Port Royal upon ourselves.

The truth is that throughout the seventeenth century the Roman Church was suspect in our country not for doctrinal reasons but for political. It was not to be borne by an Englishman that a Church should exist as a political body, claiming universal empire and dissolving the bonds of national allegiance. Not for nothing had he imbibed the temper of Henry II. He saw the spirit of Thomas Becket in the followers of Ignatius Loyola, for no men defended the political power of the Papacy more ably

than the Jesuits. Andrewes and Bramhall, Taylor and Jackson denounced in their pulpits what they believed to be the evils and dishonesty of Jesuitry, but it was not from a doctrinal standpoint. No English Pascal declaims against their casuistry as does every line of the *Lettres Provinciales*. But they set Jesuits out as objects of public scorn as traitors against the nation, seeking to hamper its free life. Even Pascal was unable to overcome this fear of the Roman communion, which his own writings gravely deepened. The Englishman perceived in Louis XIV's imperialist spirit and in his Gallican Church the two great enemies, indeed the one great enemy—for Louis was the Church as much as he was the State—of their nationality. The final cause of the downfall of Port Royal was not doctrinal heterodoxy, not even Jesuit hostility to a rival and a more elevating ideal, but the absolutism of Gallicanism incarnate. It was the will of Louis XIV far more than any other cause that produced this result. What he disliked and dreaded was the unworldliness of Port Royal, which presumed to possess a piety so unlike his own strange substitute for religion. With the suspiciousness of the true tyrant, he scented conspiracy where there was nothing but devotion, and persecuted Port Royal in exactly the same spirit as a Tory squire might have persecuted a Methodist preacher in the eighteenth century. The history of Port Royal is in fact the counterpart of the story of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Miss Clark provides us with enough of a background to follow the narrative of the British sojourners and strangers at Port Royal. She sets forth the biographies of individuals, though these individuals scarcely influenced the course of our national life—except by way of repulsion. True, there were Jacobites living in exile, and the fierce controversies of Jansenists and Jesuits raged also among these Jacobites, though it raged mainly when they were strangers in a strange land. The austere asceticism of the Jansenists was not calculated to attract such a man as Charles II, though the Aubigny-Bellings mission attests that they possessed power after the Restoration. On the other hand, it is not doubtful that Jansenist views on grace and free will exercised their sway over Archbishop Leighton and Bishop Ken, and Puritan divines like John Owen. Perhaps the movement for the union of the Anglican and Gallican Churches, which Archbishop Wake had so much at heart, also owes something to Jansenism. The Church of England has been reproached with her attitude to the State during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and there is something in the reproach. Nevertheless, those who so reproach her should investigate the history of the Church of France during the same period, and they will certainly find a Church political to a degree altogether un-

dreamt of in our country. This differing ethos in the two Churches is among the many reasons why Jansenism never exerted much influence among ourselves.

R.H.M.

*Christentum und nichtchristliche Religion nach der Auffassung Luthers.* By WALTER HOLSTEN. (Bertelsmann). 4s. 6d. THE attitude of Martin Luther towards the religion of his own day is not precisely a new problem, and yet, in the light of recent documents, Herr Holsten adds to our knowledge and our insight. In the first part of his pamphlet the ablest section is that which explains the reformer's outlook upon natural religion and upon the enlightenment of his generation. Short as is the section dealing with these matters, we found it most illuminating. We are treading upon more familiar ground when we consider the views of Luther upon the Papacy, the monastic life, and the Mass. The author breaks fresher ground when he invites our attention to the angle of approach to the Jewish faith and towards Mohammedanism. There is a masterly summing up of the whole by Herr Holsten.

R.H.M.

*Tudor Sunset.* By MRS. WILFRID WARD. (Sheed & Ward. 1932). SIR WALTER SCOTT would have had no reason to be ashamed of his descendant, Mrs. Wilfrid Ward, the authoress of *Tudor Sunset*. We may suggest that the author of *Kenilworth* had entered more really into the atmosphere of the spacious days, because he was more at one with the spirit of the time, while his grand-daughter's sympathies are all with the persecuted minority. But in an examination, where accuracy was prized, Mrs. Ward would have obtained a first class and Sir Walter would almost certainly have been ploughed. The Romance may not move briskly enough for modern taste, and is unrelieved by humour, but it contains many admirable pictures carefully depicted, and lovingly regarded. Throughout Mrs. Ward writes like a very great lady and a very real Christian. Her story is confessedly propaganda, but if all propagandists wrote in her spirit, the reunion of Christendom would not be long delayed. We hope all Protestants will learn from this book to understand better the Roman Catholic position, and to respect as they should the Roman Catholic martyrs.

H.M.S.

*The Church of Ireland.* A.D. 432—1932. (Church of Ireland Publishing Co.). 2s.

THIS most interesting book is nominally a Report of the Church of Ireland Conference held last year to commemorate the Fifteen Hundredth Anniversary of the Mission of St. Patrick. There



are so many conferences now-a-days—some rather futile—that reports do not always excite much attention. But this is no ordinary report. It is a work of historical and literary value. It contains a series of essays by various able men on the history of the church from the Vth century to the present day. There is no dull antiquarianism. The writers are full of the old spirit of adventure and enterprise. They give us living and very human pictures of the past.

Three papers deal with St. Patrick: his person and history; his environment, and his teaching; together with an account of a few ancient sacred sites—Armagh, Bangor, Saul, Croagh Patrick.

A remarkable photograph of Armagh from the air shows in the curvature of the modern streets the exact circular form of the ancient churchyard around the Cathedral.

There are five articles on the "Ancient Irish Period." Two are of especial interest. "Religious and Literary Movements in Ireland in the VIIIth and IXth Centuries," by Dr. Flower of the British Museum; and "Early Irish Monasticism," before the VIIth Century, which Mr. Lawlor traces to Egyptian sources and the Pachomian Rule (A.D. 320) of which a full account may be read in Dr. Wallis-Budge's "Paradise of the Fathers." Egyptian ascetics founded cells on many small islands in the Mediterranean. At Skellig Michael, off the coast of Kerry, high up on an almost inaccessible rock island there are the wonderful bee-hive huts or cells of a monastic foundation "completely illustrative of the early Pachomian rule," and there are several isolated monasteries in other islands in the West. And this was also the Rule of St. Columba at Iona, and of the 90 associated houses founded by the Saint in Ireland and Scotland. And it may be noted that St. Patrick himself came to Ireland trained under the same Egyptian influence at Lérins and Auxerre.

In the next section there are two papers on the theological witness of the Irish Church in Pre-Reformation, and in Post-Reformation times followed by four on the "Medieval" and the "Reformation Periods."

The question is sometimes asked, Why are there comparatively so few ancient parish churches in Ireland? The answer is that a large number fell to ruin in Queen Elizabeth's reign, owing to the troubled and disturbed times, when too many parishes had no incumbents. But already in the previous century, the annual and the official reports describe "churches as being in a deplorable state, even cathedrals being roofless." And in 1523 the Earl of Kildare reported that all the churches in Counties Kilkenny and Tipperary were in extreme decay, chiefly owing

to Papal appointments of non-resident clergy. Also in the XVth century the country was rent by continuous internecine wars between sept and sept.

At the present day it is estimated that there are probably not more than sixty pre-Reformation churches in Ireland now in use in anything like their original state. In fact, the great majority of the churches were built in the first half of the last century, and even since the Disestablishment it is estimated that over a million pounds has been spent on church building.

With regard to the continuity of the Church of Ireland, the episcopal succession at the Reformation is quite definitely proved. Of the 28 bishops in Ireland at Elizabeth's accession, 17 at least had been appointed by Henry VIII, and of these only two were known to have been deprived for their refusal to accept the Reform. Dr. D. A. Chart contributes an account of three Post-Reformation leaders of the church—James Ussher, William King, and Richard Whately. Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, was a learned scholar of European reputation; and it is interesting to note that after his death in 1656, his library of 10,000 volumes was purchased by the Cromwellian army serving in Ireland, and eventually became the first notable possession of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

The two articles by the Bishops of Limerick and Ossory on the mission work of the Church of Ireland and the concluding papers on its moral witness show the remarkable energy and vitality of a comparatively small body in the face of many and great difficulties, and further witness to the great revival of Church life which followed the Disestablishment of 1870. This is largely due, as the Archbishop of Dublin pointed out, to the fact that "one of the very first steps in 1870 was for the ancient Synod, composed solely of the clergy of the Church of Ireland, to call into counsel the lay members of the church. And from that time the government of the church has rested on the co-operation of the two orders of clergy and laity." This Synod of the Church of Ireland is entirely independent of and free from interference of Rome abroad, or of the state at home. The church legislates for itself. The Conference Report concludes with a sermon by the Bishop of Durham, really a succinct review of Irish Christianity and its influence through the centuries, illustrating the proverb

*"The years teach much which the days never knew."*

Thus, learning from the past, and in the same spirit of courage and adventure which marks its early history, the Church of Ireland to-day is building in faith on the ancient foundations of its own apostolic missionaries.

*The Oxford Movement in Scotland.* By W. PERRY. (Cambridge University Press. 1933). 3s. 6d.

THIS book brings together much information on the influence of the Tractarian Revival on Church life in Scotland. Among the incidents with which it deals are the erection of the church at Jedburgh by the Marchioness of Lothian (who subsequently became a Roman Catholic) in 1841-1843; the work of John Alexander at Old St. Paul's, and subsequently at St. Columba's, at Edinburgh; the foundation of Trinity College, Glenalmond; the building of the Cathedrals at Perth and Cumbræ; the offer of the Deanery of Perth to John Mason Neale; the foundation of Sisterhoods; and, above all, the work of Alexander Penrose Forbes, Bishop of Brechin and "a Scottish Pusey." In a concluding chapter Dr. Perry shews how even the Presbyterian Church in Scotland has been markedly affected by the Catholic Revival.

A great deal of the volume describes the events of the Revival in England. This part of the work is less valuable, for, in matters of detail, it is teeming with inaccuracies. The following corrections should be made: the famous Assize Sermon of 1833 was preached before more than one judge (p. 14); Newman was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1822, not 1821 (p. 16); Newman wrote ten, or, if No. 15 be reckoned as his, eleven, of the first twenty *Tracts for the Times* (p. 16); 70 Tracts were out by the end of 1835 (p. 18); Pusey, of course, was not older than Keble—he was some eight years junior to him (p. 18); Wiseman was not a cardinal when he first denounced the Oxford Movement (p. 21); Pusey's 1843 Sermon did not deal with Absolution (p. 23); Newman's first doubts were raised by the Monophysite Controversy, not by *securus indicat orbis terrarum* (p. 24); the negotiations on Anglican Orders were later than 1890—*Apostolicae Curæ* was issued in 1896 (p. 77); Manning was quite familiar with the Roman Mass before he seceded (p. 94). There is an omission in the quotation from Tract No. 1 on page 17 which makes nonsense of it. On pages 27 and 28, Professor Brilioth is, we believe, unjustly criticised; for it is clear that he is using the term "Oxford Movement" in a different sense from Dr. Perry. Professor Brilioth is fully aware of the influence of the Oxford Movement on later Anglican religious thought. On p. 43, R. I. (Isaac), not R. J., Wilberforce.

F.L.C.

*The Values of the Incarnation.* By the REV. P. A. MICKLEM, D.D (S.P.C.K.). 5s. net.

DR. MICKLEM is the Rector of St. James', Sydney, New South Wales. His book consists of the six Moorhouse Lectures given in 1931. We most warmly and unreservedly commend it. No

more valuable work can be done than the writing of short and readable volumes by profound scholars, so that the present trend of thought in various fields may be made accessible to busy people. We should like every parish priest to read these lectures. It is necessary for Christian teachers to think out the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation afresh in view of all that has been written of recent years about emergent evolution. Fr. Thornton's book *The Incarnate Lord*, published in 1928, is of the first importance in this connexion, but not everyone has time to read and assimilate it. Dr. Micklem has thoroughly grasped the line of thought set forth in this and similar books, and expounds it with great force and lucidity. The Incarnation is indeed a new creation, not the mere emergence of that which was already present. "Yet it was also the coming to conscious self-expression and to concrete and personal embodiment of that which had been present throughout as the idea of the whole, the outcome and issue of the whole creative process, a process in which the Divine had throughout been preparing for himself less imperfect forms of self-expression" (p. 79). The book is a real contribution to the apologetic which seeks to show that the Chalcedonian Christology is not inconsistent with modern thought. There is however, one "howler" on p. 45, where the term θεοτόκος is mentioned as applying to Christ instead of to his Mother.

F.H.

*Religious Experience : its Nature, Types and Validity.* By A. C. BOUQUET, D.D. (Heffer.) 3s. net.

THIS is the second in the series of seven "Modern Handbooks on Religion," all of which are by Dr. Bouquet himself. If the other six are as interesting and constructive as this, the author is doing the intelligent public a rare service in writing them. There is an immense amount of matter in these 130 pages, and they should be read slowly, but every page is readable. The author's object is to enquire how far intuitive experience, whether of the milder or intenser kind, may rightly be regarded as evidence of the nature and operation of Deity; and he shows that such experience can be submitted to numerous tests. He notes that it has tended to decrease in recent years, and attributes this largely to our "noisy and hideous mechanised civilisation." If this generation "says that it prefers a football match with a brass band to a communion service as a suitable occupation for Christmas morning, it is only condemning itself out of its own mouth" (p. 123). Adherents of the Group Movement would do well to read and ponder over the section headed "Theory of Immediate Experiences" (pp. 61ff.), in the course of which Dr. Bouquet



makes much use of Fr. Poulain's monumental work *Des Grâces d'Oraison*, and treats it with the respect it deserves. Particularly interesting also is the study of the case of Helen Keller, who lost three of her five senses at the age of nineteen months, only touch and smell remaining (pp. 32 ff.). In her case "Christian theism, plus a certain awakening self-consciousness, seemed . . . to provide a correct explanation of life, and . . . she got from it a sense of satisfaction which is often described as one of the most important elements in the psychology of conversion." The latter part of the book contains a penetrating re-statement of the doctrines of Sin, Grace and Justification. It is a pity that the proofs have been carelessly corrected.

F.H.

*What is Modernism?* By THE REV. H. P. V. NUNN, M.A. (S.P.C.K.). 7s. 6d. net.

*Freedom and Authority in Religion.* By THE REV. J. C. HARDWICK, M.A., B.Sc.

*Modern Light on Sex and Marriage.* By DOUGLAS WHITE, M.D. The Modernist Series. (Skeffington & Son, Ltd.). 3s. 6d. net each.

HERE are three books which deal with the problems of what is widely and loosely called Modernism from three different points of view: one from the standpoint of frank notoriety; one treating it in its religious aspect; and one dealing with the vexed question of the education of the young in the facts of sex.

Mr. Nunn is a vigorous assailant, and pricks into the sore places of the Modernist movement as he sees it with gusto and effect. His first chapter depicts the Modernist as he sees himself, and as others, including Mr. Nunn and the Pope, see him; and here, and throughout the book, he is constantly noting certain peculiarities of temperament and outlook, which he finds most fully developed in Dr. Major. Such are the assumption of intellectual and moral superiority in the Modernist, with the odious suggestion (which is sometimes more than a suggestion) that clergymen who differ from him are teaching what they do not believe from interested motives; and, alongside of this lofty claim, a tendency to judge the authenticity of texts by their agreement with modernist theories, and to ignore or misstate the questions which are raised by the first half-century of the Church's history. Mr. Nunn goes on to state four cardinal points: the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, the Life of Christ, and the Fourth Gospel; and deals with the Modernist treatment of them. On the whole he finds the Modernists to be lacking in manners, unscrupulous or obsessed by prejudice in their handling of documents, and absurdly optimistic in their belief that they are evolving a gospel

which will instantly commend itself to all reasonable persons. Mr. Nunn's book is possibly a speech for the prosecution, but it is certainly a speech which will need some answering ; and he shines particularly in cross-examination of hostile witnesses.

Mr. Hardwick obligingly exemplifies some of the characteristics mentioned above. He is not quite so hard as Dr. Major on persons in Holy Orders and others who profess to believe more articles of the Christian Faith than he allows himself : he rather pities than reviles them. But he clings persistently to the superstition that Modernists are rigidly excluded from preferment in the Church of England. Surely in his plea for liberty he is pushing hard at an open door. Where in history could he find a religious body in which men were more absolutely at liberty to think and teach what seemed good to them ? It is worth noting that of Mr. Nunn's defendants one is a bishop and two are deans. When he comes to authority, Mr. Hardwick is rather nebulous as is perhaps the way of his school of thought. The way to revive authority is apparently to agree with Mr. Hardwick. But the main part of Chapter XV which shows how *not* to revive authority is admirable and timely. When Mr. Hardwick appears as iconoclast of the *idola cleri* of the day, we can only say, "more power to his elbow."

Dr. White's *Modern Light* is an interesting and certainly a startling book ; and not one to be set aside or condemned without patient consideration of facts and modern conditions, and a certain amount of self-examination. It is the fashion to-day to discuss a number of things about which our grandparents thought it wiser to be silent. And if these things are to be discussed frankly, it is important that they should be discussed reverently and sensibly. And Dr. White, although he commits himself too unreservedly to the dogma that the sexual impulse lies at the root of all, or nearly all, human thoughts and actions, is undoubtedly sensible and reverent. At the same time it is surely not too old-fashioned to question whether a book which contains a detailed description of the physiology of co-ition and the methods of contraception should be published in a cheap popular series. It is significant that, in commending the plainest teaching on this subject from the earliest years, Dr. White has to postulate the ideal parent and the ideal child. Admirable as his book may be in the right hands, a copy of it surreptitiously circulated in a private school, or, for the matter of that, in a public school, would do infinite mischief.

J.H.F.P.

*Modernism, Past and Present.* By H. L. STEWART, M.A., Ph. D.  
With a Foreword by the RT. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF RIPON,  
D.D. (London : John Murray. 1932). 12s.

PROFESSOR H. L. STEWART, of Dalhousie University, the author

of *A Century of Anglo-Catholicism*, has written another volume hardly less diverting than its predecessor. In fourteen chapters, he traces the history of Modernism from the Greek Philosophers up to the present day. His method is in the main descriptive. He probably would not claim that he adds much that is original to his subject, and a great deal of the ground that he covers is, in fact, very familiar. But the author has the gift of being able to make his subject live. Two particularly readable chapters are Chapters VI and X, dealing with Erasmus and Renan respectively.

"Modernism" as applied to religion is a term of many meanings, and Professor Stewart uses it in several different senses—some of which are not covered by the attempted analysis of the word in the first chapter, entitled "What 'Modernism' means." To begin with, Modernism is taken as equivalent to the right to intellectual freedom (p. 77); and if Modernism be so understood, then Erasmus is "a typical Modernist" (p. 95). Secondly, the Modernist is one who believes that it is possible to restate the traditional Christian Creed in harmony with modern knowledge (p. 270). In the Protestant Churches, it has led to the "gradual adjustment . . . made between ancient creeds and the growth of secular knowledge" (p. 331). Of Modernism so conceived, St. Thomas Aquinas and the late Dean Rashdall would have been typical representatives. Thirdly, Modernism means the subordination of dogmatic assertions to the life of the Spirit. It is the work of the Modernist "to explode the myth of orthodoxy as a prerequisite of salvation" (p. 121). We are to be judged at the judgement-seat of Christ not by our theological orthodoxy, but by our moral and spiritual excellence. Yet a fourth conception of Modernism, to be found on pp. 292f., is the belief that theology must set out from the Natural and work up to the Supernatural. Though the Modernist in this sense may hold such doctrines as the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, and the Life to Come, he must not treat them as of "the essence," or of "the commencement," of Christian thought. "If they are to be reasonably held, one must not *begin* with them, but rather *end* with them." (293).

The most interesting phenomenon in the history of religious Modernism is the movement to which the term in its original sense belongs. Chapter XIII, entitled "Modernism in the Church of Rome," deals with this subject. The condemnation of this liberal movement in the Roman Catholic Church by Pius X was one of the greatest theological misfortunes of modern times; and the words *Pascendi* and *Lamentabili* will for long continue to evoke feelings of regret in the minds of those who look forward to a world-wide Catholicism with its arms open to modern intellectual and cultural needs. The spirit which still

guides the Curia is a spirit of exclusiveness and hostility towards all who do not acknowledge every tittle of its claims. Until it is possessed of a new temper and understands that God reveals himself *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως*, it will never come to terms with modern thought. Upon the development and success of a second Modernist Movement in the Roman Catholic Church, the ultimate future of Christian culture in Western Europe, humanly speaking, depends.

F.L.C.

*The Christian Faith.* By JOSIAH STUMP. (Macmillan). 20s. As Dr. Stump is President of the North-western Lutheran Theological Seminary, U.S.A., it is but natural that he should approach his system of Christian dogmatics from a particularist standpoint. Part I is concerned with God and man, and the alienation through sin; Part II with the reconciliation and redemption by Jesus Christ; Part III with the work of the Holy Spirit; and Part IV with the last things or the consummation of redemption. In the first two parts and in the last one the author follows the beaten track, but we own to considerable surprise in seeing under the third part such matters as the Sacraments, the Church, and the ministry. No doubt the President could make out a good case for this inclusion, yet we should very much like to see it.

It is perhaps inevitable in a work of this nature that Dr. Stump should feel himself closely bound by the Lutheran traditions, and yet this does not prove of benefit to the cause he has at heart. To give anything more than the barest outline of the evolution of Christian doctrine would of course be out of the question, but it has been conclusively established by recent discussion how thoroughly the theology of any age, even the Lutheran one, depends on its general mode of thinking and its particular stage of culture. And that there has been development as the centuries rolled on—even since the sixteenth—should not surprise us if we remember that it began still earlier—that the Bible itself did not fall like the image of Diana at Ephesus, but that its different books show plainly the traces of the different circumstances and stages of culture in which they had their origin. Whatever our theology may be we can no longer use the Bible as it was used before the historical sense of the age awoke—a time when a text from any part of the Bible was as good as one from any other part for the purpose of “proving” a doctrine. We are not altogether sure that Dr. Stump perceives this. It is useless to resist the facts in order to support a pre-conceived theory; and the facts plainly point to differences and development of doctrine both in the Old Testament and the New. In point of fact the Bible is not primarily a revelation of supernatural knowledge at all: it



is the revelation of God himself working in history for the redemption of mankind, and the question of doctrine does not occupy anything like so prominent a place as the question of personal piety and the question of our conduct towards our fellow-men. Such therefore being the character of the original revelation, Christians of every age have had before them the task of giving separate attention to the different sides of it, and of finding out what God would have them be, believe and do. The results of this process they have had to assimilate to their own minds and express in their own words before they could make them really their own ; and in this process, necessary to all learning which is not to be the mere repetition of other people's words, we have the explanation of the various creeds and confessions and systems of doctrine evolved by the Church throughout her history.

In Dr. Stump's volume we have a clear statement of the belief he enunciates and the way in which one portion of this belief coheres with other portions. It is a book that reflects the age of systematising, the age of the Reformation, not a book that reflects the age of speculation, which is our own. Doubtless the author would claim this as a benefit. Will the reader share this conviction ? We gravely doubt it. Now a man can think himself back into any age in which he cares to live : he can be more familiar with the sixteenth century than he is with the twentieth. There is a price to be paid for this thinking back, and that price is loss of touch with his own generation. We are well aware that Dr. Stump has read, marked, learned, and digested many tomes written in our own day, and yet somehow his book leaves us with the steady impression that quotations from these tomes have never really entered the marrow of his thought. We earnestly trust that we do not wrong him, but we can only register the impression that his volume leaves upon us.

R. H. M.

*Doxa*. Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie. VON LIC. DR. JOHANNES SCHNEIDER. (Gütersloh : C. Bertelsmann, 1932). Pp. vi + 184. 5 marks, unbound.

A CAREFUL study of the history of the word *δόξα* in literary Greek ; the inscriptions ; Hellenistic Greek as represented by the Mystery-Religion literature, the *Zauberpapyri*, and astrology ; the LXX and similar texts ; Philo ; the New Testament ; the N.T. Apocrypha ; and the Fathers. The author deals only incompletely with the last named, and thus by a happy coincidence has avoided the field already investigated by Mr. E. C. Owen (see *J.T.S.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 132ff, and 265ff).

The conclusion reached is that there are two separate streams of tradition, which determined the meaning of *δόξα*. One of them

is that of literary Greek—the “abstract-theoretical” tradition. Here *δόξα* may mean either “opinion” or else “honour” or “glory.” With the meaning “opinion,” the word is pre-eminently a philosophical term; with the latter meaning, it occurs both in the literature and in inscriptions. The second stream of tradition is that of “popular Hellenistic Greek.” Here it has a “concretely realistic” sense, namely “brightness” or “lustre.”

F.L.C.

*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft Registerband. Bearbeitet Von DR. OSKAR RÜHLE. (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen. 1932). [Sewn, 20 marks; half-leather, 26 marks.]

THE encyclopædia to which this is the index has already been reviewed in these pages [see *C.Q.R.*, CXV (Oct. 1932), 124-126]. Besides a very complete index, the present volume contains also a list of the contributors to the earlier volumes. It bears roughly the same relation to the whole work as Volume 13 to Volumes 1-12 of Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

F.L.C.

*Historical Survey of Holy Week: Its Services and Ceremonial.* Alcuin Club Collections, XXIX. By the Reverend J. W. TYRER, M.A. (Oxford University Press). 25s.

THE first three chapters of this important book deal with the history of the observance of Holy Week during the first seven centuries of the Church's existence. The author shows the grounds for believing that the observance of the Pascha dates from apostolic times. The documents concerned with the Paschal controversy testify to such a belief having been current at the end of the second century; and additional evidence is provided by the fact that the date of the Pascha is fixed by the *lunar* calendar, which suggests that the observance originated at a time when Jewish Christians outnumbered Gentiles.

The strict observance of Holy Saturday is even more primitive than that of Good Friday. By the third century, however, both days are almost universally observed as strict fasts. Later the fast is extended to cover the whole week, a single meal being permitted on the first four days.

The Pascha was also the occasion for the baptism of catechumens. On them a longer fast was imposed, in preparation for their baptism; and this fast of forty days later comes to be observed by all the faithful. So Holy Week, from being the only week of fasting in the Church's year comes to be the last and most solemn week in the long pre-Paschal fast.

The remaining chapters of the book are devoted to a description of the Holy Week services of the West; as described in service books and *Ordines* from the eighth century onwards. The author describes the rites of the *Ordo Romanus* of the twelfth century, the rites of the Sacramentaries, the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites and three medieval uses. He deals with the distinctive features of the divine office during Holy Week, and even includes a note on the Peruvian origin of the extra-liturgical devotion of the Three Hours.

It forms no part of the author's purpose to make suggestions as to the formation of a satisfactory Anglican Holy Week Liturgy or to criticise experiments that are being made to this end in cathedrals and parish churches in England to-day. But those who are dissatisfied with the jejune provision made by the Book of Common Prayer for the observance of Holy Week—a provision scarcely amplified in the Book of 1928—will gain much by the study of this book. The mere provision of innumerable mission services hardly does justice to the Week's importance and dignity; on the other hand, the services of the modern Roman rite are inordinate in length and largely unsuitable to the needs of Anglican congregations. The analysis of these services and the study of their gradual development suggest that further development and adaptation are not impossible. In many churches the Blessing of Palms is one of the most popular services in the year; but churches which observe this ceremony might well employ the brief rite of the ancient *Ordo Romanus*, rather than that of the modern Roman Missal. The worship of the Cross on Good Friday, a ceremony introduced into western liturgy from Jerusalem, is at present an intrusion in the modern Roman rite which disturbs the progress of the Mass of the Presanctified. In some form or other it might be revived in Anglican churches as a separate service, perhaps solving the problem of evening worship on Good Friday. The Blessing of the Paschal taper should be restored to its place on Holy Saturday evening, instead of taking place in broad daylight according to modern Roman custom. But the ceremonies connected with the Font might well be separately revived in an age when the laity are profoundly ignorant of the significance of Holy Baptism. Those who desire that Holy Week should be marked by distinctive and edifying rites will do well to study this book's descriptions of the variations of the Holy Week rite of the West, rather than to be content with the unintelligent wholesale adoption of modern Roman services, or the composition of fancy rites of their own.

*Gloria : Some Psalm-visions for the Eucharist.* By STACY WADDY. (S.P.C.K.). 4s. net.

THIS is an impossible book to review as its sub-title makes clear. It is a reflection of the mind of the author, and will appeal to those who are like minded. Others may be simply puzzled by it. But, apart from other beautiful qualities, it has this virtue—that it will help and guide those who have already begun to practice the devotional use of the Psalms : and may start along that path some to whom the Psalms are as yet only something with not very much meaning, which is sung by the choir at Morning and Evening Prayer.

J.H.F.P.

*Quires and Places Where They Sing.* By SYDNEY H. NICHOLSON, M.V.O., D.Mus., M.A. (G. Bell & Sons).

To all who are in any way interested in church music, this book will be welcome. Dr. Sydney Nicholson, who is one of the greatest authorities on the subject, writes with a conviction which is the outcome of experience. But it is a book not only for the expert : there is much in it that will be of interest to the general reader. In the early chapters the history of choir singing is dealt with, showing that the choirs of to-day have behind them an historical background which few other surviving institutions can match. A fascinating survey of the history of church music and choirs is given. Starting from the "Gregorian" chant and taking us down to the present day, without in any way holding them up as patterns to be followed, Dr. Nicholson emphasises the importance of the work done by the typical Victorian musicians, and mentions in passing the publication of "Hymns Ancient and Modern" as the first really successful attempt to make hymn-singing a vital part of the parish church service. Touching the thorny question of hymn tunes, he raises the question as to how far it is right to provide congregations with what they prefer, and how far it is right to educate their taste by denying them the bad—a difficult question, indeed, to answer, but we must part company with Dr. Nicholson when he says that the best hope for the reformer lies not in trying to substitute unfamiliar tunes for familiar, but in introducing, gradually and cautiously, new hymns of sterling quality which will tend to cultivate improved taste. As an exception to this, he instances Vaughan Williams' fine tune for "For all the Saints." But if this experiment has succeeded with a hymn the words of which are admittedly not in the first rank, why not try the same with "Jesu, Lover of my Soul" to "Aberystwith" ; "The King of Love my Shepherd is" to "St. Columba," and many others ? It has been tried with marked success in some places.



In regard to the future of church music Dr. Nicholson says with truth that there probably never was a time when more practical interest was taken in it than the present. Thoughtful people are no longer contented to accept without question whatever musical fare is provided for them in church: there is a widespread and increasing demand that church music should more nearly approach the standard of efficiency which is found in secular music. Not only organists and choirmasters, but the clergy would do well to read this admirable book.

E.H.M.

*Christianity and Philosophy.* By D. MIAL EDWARDS, M.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark). 10s. 6d. net.

As its title indicates, the subject-matter of this volume is more definite than that of many recent studies in the philosophy of religion, as such. It has the marked advantage that it makes no severe demands on the reader for any specialist knowledge of either science, theology or philosophy, while at the same time it provides an unusually clear, competent and concise outline of all the main points at issue, together with much effective criticism of current outstanding contentions. The author has selected two features as typical of the ruling situation—the modern stress on the individual and his experience, and the prominence given to naturalistic categories and methods.

For himself, he unhesitatingly endorses that rejection of Naturalism which has been so notable in recent philosophic discussion. Thus both religion and philosophy become autonomous, "though they have much in common and much to learn from one another." Nevertheless "religious intuitions must always submit to enlightened cross-examination," which Professor Edwards undertakes from the standpoint of personal idealism, in such a way that personality becomes the category dominating his entire constructive survey.

Starting with human experience as the "only available key to the nature of reality," he advances by means of the hierarchy of values to the "Christian conception of God," and lays an unmistakable emphasis on divine personality, while also admitting that "God may be *more* than personal . . . God may well be *supra-personal*." In this sense we may safely accept a "discriminative anthropomorphism," which makes no presumptuous claims to dogmatic finality, and which is prepared to regard divine transcendence as implying absolute good, and not the repellent neutrality "beyond good and evil."

There subsists, none the less, an "overplus of mystery." Religion is therefore always a "value-experience," wherein the Holy becomes "the richest and most inclusive, the value of values, ultimate,

fundamental, comprehensive." All these principles, however, are no mere echoes of earlier stress on the numinous, since Dr. Edwards always keeps the distinctively Christian aspects of religion to the fore. From this viewpoint "the supreme Object is identical with the Absolute, the ultimate ground of all existence"; similarly, "our argument favours the identification of the Ultimate Reality of philosophy with the God of religion," while "the ultimate Creative Principle" is equated to "the Absolute of the philosophers," provided always that one of the most widely accepted and impressive meanings of "Absolute" is rigidly excluded—that, namely, which defines it as "the Totality by which all antitheses are absorbed." In this important respect, however, I cannot help feeling that Professor Edwards has scarcely rendered adequate justice to the Absolutism of Hegel. For certainly neither Hegel himself, nor any of his ablest English interpreters, can be charged with any "ambitious attempt to embrace all experience without remainder within the network of logical categories." On the contrary, it was precisely Hegel who designated Logic "the kingdom of shades," and most strenuously insisted on the *concreteness* of experience as being quite indispensable. Hegel, too, unmistakably emphasised the value and significance of personality, above all of divine personality; while both Bradley and Bosanquet endorsed his repeated protests against attaining unity by merging the many in "the all-absorbing Absolute." The author appears to my mind not to have realised the full and rich significance always assigned by the Hegelians to those sadly misapprehended terms "reason" and "rationality"; Hegel's Idealism, at least, is radically misinterpreted on p. 231.

Nor do I think it is at all accurate to say that "quantity and not quality is the ultimate category of science"; this is by no means true of mathematics, and much less so of its less abstract allies, as the modern geometries alone amply suffice to show. On this important issue Professor Edwards endorses Canon Streeter's erroneous views, widely adopted as they unfortunately have been in many quarters; and the implications of such a grave mistake, with respect to the other types of experience, are clear. Regarding the nature of Life, again, I believe that the contrast, undeniably profound as it of course is, between organism and mechanism, is over-stressed. For while there is certainly some justification for asserting that "the difference between life and a machine is not merely one of degree of complexity, but of quality," it is equally true, as Whitehead has maintained, that whenever differences of degree extend sufficiently far, then they become of themselves differences of quality. On the other hand the critical attitude taken up towards the new Principle of Indeterminacy is, in my opinion, thoroughly

sound, and in full agreement with more recent protests against any final abandonment of Causation.

Reverting now to the main theme, Dr. Edwards advances to a Christology that is governed throughout by the invaluable principle that "Christianity, while it is Christomorphic, is not Christocentric but Theocentric," and proceeds to develop this position into a thoughtful consideration of the Trinity in its relations to his previous discussion of personality. He has unquestionably succeeded in an unusually difficult task—the presentation of an evangelicalism of a very high order, freed from the crudities that have often so fatally marred its true power and attractiveness.

J.E.T.

*Outlines of Indian Philosophy.* By M. HIRIYANNA, M.A. (Allen and Unwin). 15s. net.

THERE has been a marked revival of interest in Indian philosophy during the last few years, alike in its broader and its more technical aspects. The present volume forms an excellent introduction to this extensive and many-sided sphere of thought; and although it is intended primarily for students, it should prove attractive to all readers who wish to study the subject, perhaps with the view of pursuing its more detailed features in the larger works of Radhakrishnan and Dasgupta. The author has skilfully combined a clear historical survey with his own critical exposition of the cardinal principles of the contrasted systems which have expressed the devious course of Oriental speculation on man, God, and universe. Special prominence has been given throughout to the difficult problems of perception and knowledge, and these in turn lead to the discussion of the main questions in logic that have been elaborated by the great Indian thinkers. Any adequate treatment of these themes necessitates some technicality, but Professor Hiriyantha acquits himself well throughout his detailed analysis and presentation.

In this respect it is far too seldom realised how complicated the Indian epistemological theories actually are; and this is equally true of the wider applications of theory to ontology, ethics and religion. But exactly as in the long history of Western philosophy, no leading teacher has ever attempted to ignore the indestructible links which bind these diverse aspects of experience into a single intricately woven whole. To regard the thought of the Orient as nothing more than a vague mysticism, a purely negative nihilism, or an all-absorbing pantheism or absolutism, would be a most serious error. The contrasts between the historic schools are profound and far-reaching. Undeniably, different types of absolutism have always exercised a powerful

influence, whether we ascribe this to racial temperament, or to some other and less question-begging source. But theism has also had able and eloquent defenders, and it is probably the delineation of its various forms, from the hand of a mentality in many ways differing from our own, that will chiefly interest English students. One of the most impressive features of the situation is the curiously close resemblance in the general standpoint and methods of approach, as distinct from specific modes of expression, between East and West in their handling of creation, personality and revelation, immortality, moral aspiration and guilt, with other associated subjects equalling these in their importance.

It is in this direction, quite as much as in connection with economic and political issues, that a still more intimate *rapprochement* must be sought between ourselves and a very large section of educated India, into whose life philosophy enters more deeply than into the more pragmatic spirit of the West. If such a mutual approach is ever to become permanent, it must rest on a fuller and more accurate understanding of the formative influences which have moulded Indian speculation. Between these on the one hand, and Occidental thought on the other, there exists no such insuperable opposition as is, most unhappily, too often believed to arise. Professor Hiriyantha's work should make this unmistakably clear. It is written throughout in excellent English, the treacherous pitfalls of grammar and construction, which engulf so many Indian writers, having been skilfully avoided; and there is a copious index.

J.E.T.

*An Introduction to Pneumatology.* By J. C. McKERROW, M.B. (Longmans). 6s. net.

THIS author's previous work, *Novius Organum*, was reviewed in Vol. CXII of this Journal. Readers who were attracted by it will unquestionably appreciate his study of Pneumatology still more, while its originality and independence fully deserve the consideration of those who are not familiar with his earlier books. His *Introduction* is much more positive and constructive, and seems to my own mind to express a marked reaction from the standpoint hitherto adopted by Mr. McKerrow. Although "Pneumatology" is a rather forbidding addition to our already overloaded terminology, the author justifies its selection to indicate "the scientific study of religious experience," when this is regarded as autonomous and *sui generis*, in the sense that man is, essentially, "the religious animal, a spiritual being." I have always taken the term "religious animal," and even "rational animal," to be as self-contradictory as "square circle," and all



the more when they accompany "spiritual being." Still, with this *caveat*, Pneumatology becomes the scientific "study of the relation of man to God," paralleled by, yet quite distinct from, psychology as "the study of the relation of man to the world. In virtue of this relation to God—not the idea of God—man is raised above the animal (as) the animal is raised above the plant."

So profound a contrast sufficiently emphasises the actuality and significance that are consistently and unhesitatingly assigned to religious experience; and this, we must now recall, from the strictly scientific viewpoint. For "faith in God" is the "*biological* differentia of man," even while it continues to remain spiritual and mystical. The difficulty of harmonising these two positions is obvious; but it should not, I think, blind us to the immeasurable value of their reconciliation, always provided that each retains its own specific features. On this vitally important point Mr. McKerrow is beyond reproach. For he stresses throughout the "distinction between things spiritual and things non-spiritual," so that "the greatest respect for human progress is compatible with the greatest contempt for merely humanist progress." Always "the essence of religion is faith lived by, not belief accepted as true," while "simple faith is not the faith of simpletons."

Equally noteworthy is the author's treatment of the "awareness of sin (as) the fundamental fact of spiritual experience," and this in the deep sense that "the only real sins are those a man is not aware of, until they are revealed to him by an act of grace": while still further, "the sinner saved by grace makes contact, not with theism, but with God." I trust that this will prevent any hasty criticism of many of Mr. McKerrow's other opinions as "unorthodox":—his discussion of the origins of Christianity, of the Passion as probably a myth, and of the Trinity as a "fiction," in the current philosophical sense of these terms. I cannot myself resist the surmise that, in all these respects, his whole standpoint is a most striking manifestation of the "unconscious" influence of the Shorter Catechism on a typically modern mind, endowed not only with intellectual vigour, but also with unusually keen spiritual insight. One side of his nature proclaims that "the twentieth century is like the first—its ancient creed is out-worn"; but at the same moment a perhaps even deeper instinct tells him that the same "century is as sick in its soul as was the first"; and this, after all, is the really essential matter.

J.E.T.

*The New Psychologies.* By RUDOLF ALLERS. Essays in Order.

No. 9. (London: Sheed & Ward, 1932). 2s. 6d. net.

THIS small work contains an examination of two of the newer

psychological theories—the Psycho-analytic Method of Freud, and the so-called Individual Psychology of Adler—and seeks to shew their respective philosophical limitations. The criticism of Freud is particularly illuminating. The author digs down to the lowest metaphysical presuppositions which underlie the structure of Freud's method, and then proceeds to subject his teaching to ruthless criticism from a purely *metaphysical* standpoint. Professor Allers brings out clearly the fact that modern psychology has found itself drawn into philosophical issues against its will, and he ascribes this change to three chief influences—Dilthey's differentiation between descriptive and explanatory psychology; Freud's own researches; and Husserl's phenomenology. Gradually the soul has come back into the psychologist's domain.

Only seldom do psychologists write as lucidly and accurately as Professor Allers. This book is a worthy successor to his *Psychology of Character*.

F.L.C.

*The Influence of Islam.* A study of the effect of Islam upon the psychology of the races which profess it. By E. J. BOLUS, M.A., B.D. Vicar of Monk, Sherborne, Hants; Indian Civil Service (retired); Formerly Jodrell Scholar of Queen's College, Oxford. 1932. (Lincoln Williams. Temple Bar Publishing Company Ltd.). 10s. 6d. net. Pages, 199.

THE author has brought together in this volume his own Indian gleanings and a wide reading of books on Islam and the countries that profess it. He has weaved his material together in a quite delightful way, even where he may not hold the reader. For the ordinary reader this book should prove one of the most interesting general studies of Islam. We confess however that we should have liked a little more about the India where the author lived. What there is must be collected from here and there, apart from the discursus on the Ahmadiyya movement, which comes, curiously enough, in the chapter dealing with Northern and Central Africa. After a preliminary chapter dealing with the system that sprung up through and round the person of Muhammad, and another on early Muslim Rule, the main Muslim groups are dealt with in turn. The New Turkey is led up to after a study of the "Turks and Mughals." After this comes the turn of Persian Islam. The remaining chapters are given up to "Islam and the Legal Mind"; "Islam and Reality"; "Arts and Sciences"; "Ethical and Mental Traits." There are no footnotes, so that the reader can go straight ahead if he so desires; but there are nearly eight pages of references at the close, which reveal the author's authorities.

We are in very general agreement with the author's transliteration, always a difficult thing, and that makes us wonder what has happened to Ramadan, that it should only get two syllables (Ramdan). The index is good. That the book is well worth reading may best be shewn by a selection of pithy sentences in which the book abounds. Thus "the chief virtue of Sufism lies in the fact that it helps to dispel Muslim prejudice against the unbeliever" (154). "The Muslim views life like a lawyer" (114). "It would be interesting to enquire how far the Eastern Church, in her uncompromising attitude towards Rome, has been influenced by contact with Islam" (62). "Islam has generally grudged the right of private judgment, and requires that truth should be accepted second hand" (37). "It seems the fate of Islam to misconstrue Christian dogma" (36). "To the Arab success is a sure sign of a cause blessed by heaven" (12). "Muhammad had such an extreme dread of idolatry that he could scent an idol in every statue and portrait" (157). There are other apt non-Islamic allusions scattered throughout the book, which reveal the Classics, and a background like this coupled with the actual experience of Indian Islam should commend it to those wanting a balanced judgment of the Islamic problems of to-day. Disagreement over when it was that "Abraham became the patron saint of Mecca," or "the success or failure of the principle of *Ijma*" (the consensus of the opinion of the Faithful) are small criticisms in a book where the writer carries us forward with him nearly all the way.

E.F.F.B.

*The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art.* By PROFESSOR SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E., Litt.D., F.B.A. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1928. (Oxford University Press). Pages 48, and XIX illustrative plates. 6s.

PROFESSOR GIBB has added one more to his labours of love in seeing through the press these delightful Schweich Lectures of Sir Thomas Arnold, which to those who ever heard Sir Thomas lecture on Islamic Art will almost bring back the sound of his voice and in any case recall the keenness with which he showed his pictures. The first chapter is largely given up to historical introduction and the two others to Muslim Art respectively in connection with the Old and the New Testaments. After stating the attitude of orthodox Islam, generally speaking, to the painter "as one who had presumptuously dared to arrogate to himself the creative function that belongs to God alone," Sir Thomas proceeds to show how this attitude came in certain quarters to be overridden. Since so much of the East was Nestorian or

Jacobite, it is to these sources that we must look "for the influences that gave rise to the religious art of Islam,"—primarily in Persia. As to how it came to be practically possible to paint, Sir Thomas refers not only to the Christian populations of the big cities, but also to the fact that if a Muhammadan Prince wanted a picture painted recourse could be had either to a member of the Christian community or to the descendants of such converts from Christianity to Islam, as had not lost their inherited traditions of artistic activity. So far as the Old Testament is concerned the story of Joseph is that best known to the Islamic world, and as such finds its way on to canvas ; but incidents in the careers of Adam and Eve, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and of course Solomon and Jonah are depicted.

It is further natural that there should be less attempts to paint scenes from the New Testament, since Muhammad's knowledge of the New Testament was so much more limited. Only four definite characters from its pages are in those of the Qur'an. Naturally however the centrality of the figure of Jesus, coupled with the teaching of the Qur'an concerning his Person gave him a position of prominence, which is faithfully represented in Islamic art, though again there could be no representation of the Crucifixion. But there was no "distinctive type" worked out by the Muslim artists for their depicting of Jesus. "He is commonly made to appear in the form and dress of such a holy person as the painter may have seen among his own contemporaries." The coming of Christian missionaries in the sixteenth century into the Muhammadan East meant the introduction of western pictures of Jesus and scarcely less of the Virgin, which were used as copies by Muhammadan artists. Reference is made to the different attitudes adopted towards these missionaries and their pictures by the great Akbar and his son Jahāngīr. Sir Thomas gives the warning that the "taste for Christian religious pictures—must not be taken to connote any particular attraction towards the Christian Faith."

In the Preface to this well-illustrated book Professor Gibb hopes that it may form a not unworthy pendant to the masterly survey contained in Sir Thomas Arnold's *Painting in Islam*. We would add that for those who do not know the latter work, it will form the introduction.

E.F.F.B.

*Fulfilling the Ministry.* By S. K. KNIGHT, Bishop of Jarrow. (Cambridge University Press). 7s. 6d.

THESE Pastoral Lectures by the late Bishop of Jarrow will be of value to those clergymen and ordinands who would be shy of following the guidance of books on the subject from the pen of Anglo-



Catholic authors, several of which have appeared in recent years. The author describes the work and duties of the average parish priest in a style that is arresting and attractive.

His lecture on Preaching is well worthy of attention by all who share the tendency to despise the Ministry of the Word: and there must be many who would profit by a careful consideration of his warning against the seduction of being "up-to-date." "Preach the Gospel" is one of those Apostolic charges which a craze for popularity and modernity too readily ignores. Some would not wholly endorse the scheme of worship described in the book, though if they disagree with the place assigned to Morning Prayer, they would share the author's hesitation to recommend alterations to Sunday Evensong. Presumably he has in mind the prevailing habit of tinkering with the Psalter and Lectionary, a practice which unhappily destroys the character of the service, considered as a part of the Daily Office.

He would not presumably condemn the growing practice of preaching the sermon after the Third Collect. No plea of loyalty to the Prayer Book can be urged against it and the intercessions which follow gain in usefulness and reality, if they can be connected with the subject of the sermon itself. The priest's duty of study is strongly urged: would some of our churches be more frequented if the bishop's advice were followed?

T.G.J.

*The Religion of Scientists.* Edited by C. L. DRAWBRIDGE, M.A., on behalf of the Christian Evidence Society. (London: Benn, 1932). Paper, 2s. 6d. Pp. 160.

THIS book contains "an *unbiased* account of the results of a questionnaire consisting of six queries sent out by the Christian Evidence Society to all the Fellows of the Royal Society (with the exception of the Royal Princes) on the subject of their religious beliefs." The questions put, and the answers returned, were as follows:

(1) "Do you credit the existence of a spiritual domain?"  
*Ans.*—13 negative; 121 affirmative; 66 indefinite.

(2) "Do you consider that man is in some measure responsible for his acts of choice?" *Ans.*—7 negative; 173 affirmative; 20 uncertain.

(3) "Is it your opinion that belief in evolution is compatible with belief in a Creator?" *Ans.*—142 affirmative; 6 negative; 52 doubtful.

(4) "Does natural science *negative* the idea of a personal God as taught by Jesus Christ?" *Ans.*—26 "Yes"; 103 "No"; 71 indefinite. (On page 83, it is noted that among those who

answered "No" to this question was the Bishop of Birmingham.)

(5) "Shall we meet our loved ones again beyond the grave?"

*Ans.*—47 affirmative; 41 negative; 112 indefinite.

(6) "Do you think that the recent remarkable developments in scientific thought are favourable to religious beliefs?" *Ans.*—27 negative; 74 affirmative; 99 indefinite.

The large majority against belief in Determinism is striking. Probably very different figures would have been obtained a decade or two ago in reply to this question. We are left wondering, however, whether questionnaires of this character really justify the immense labour which their circulation and collection must involve. Do the answers to the questions here propounded really lie in the domain of the scientists? Anyhow, we learn that the proposal of the Fellows of the Royal Society (who are reported to have been greatly impressed by the results of this investigation) to reverse the process and to circularize all those who hold positions in the Church of England higher than that of Rural Dean (with the exception of the Royal Chaplains) to discover the truth about the inheritance of acquired characteristics and the Schrödinger Quantum Theory has been abandoned.

F.L.C.

## PERIODICALS.

*The Journal of Theological Studies*. (October, 1932. Index. Vols. I-XXX [1899-1929]. Milford). Special attention should be called to the importance of this number of J.T.S. which supplies an elaborate Index not only to Documents and Articles but also to Reviews which have appeared in its pages during the first thirty years of its existence, with appropriate cross-references and an index of contributors. The price is one guinea.

*The Churchman* (Vol. XLVII. No. 1. January, 1933. London, E.C.4 : Dean Wace House). Attitude of Evangelicals to the Celebration of the Oxford Movement. A. L. Williams : The History of Israel. E. H. Blakeney : The Value of the Septuagint. Very Rev. Le B. E. French : The Transfiguration of our Lord. T. Reeve : Christianity and Modern Knowledge, or, Religion at the Cross-roads. Nygren 'Agape and Eros.' C. J. O[ff]er : Swartout 'The Monastic Craftsman.' Hardman (ed.) 'The Christian Life, I.' Stewart 'Modernism Past and Present.' D'Arcy 'Providence and World-Order.' Newsom 'The New Morality.' Eden and Macdonald 'Lightfoot of Durham.' Moore 'Wilfrid Burrows.'

*The Canadian Journal of Religious Thought* (Vol. IX. No. 4. November-December, 1932. Toronto : 73 Queen's Park). D. L. Ritchie : The Oxford Group Movement. N. Micklem : On Scientific and Religious Knowledge. G. B. King : Here and There in the New Testament. W. Smith : An Agent of the Bible Society in Canada, 1838-42 (James Thomson). W. J. Rose : Tantum Religio Potuit . . . The Church in European Affairs. Some Reflections. R. E. Gosse : The Lord's Supper in First Corinthians. F. Tracy : Stewart : 'Modernism Past and Present'; Fawkes 'The Church a Necessary Evil.' J. Lowe : Russell 'For Sinners Only'; Bicknell 'I-II Thessalonians.' R. Davidson : Garstang 'Joshua-Judges'; Oesterley and Robinson 'History of Israel'; Box 'Judaism in the Greek Period.' J. Line : Marett 'Faith, Hope and Charity in Primitive Religion.' J. H. Michael : Creed 'St. Luke'; Mawson 'St. Luke'; Balmforth 'St. Luke.' K. H. Cousland : Jordan 'Development of Religious Toleration in England'; Dibdin 'Establishment in England.' J. Dow : Mackay 'The Other Spanish Christ.' A. J. Johnston : Radhakrishnan 'An Idealist View of Life.' H. G. G. Herklots 'Humanism as a Way of Life.' W. R. Taylor : Welch 'Deuteronomy, the Framework of the Code'; Mercer 'The Ethiopic Text of Ecclesiastes.'

*The Journal of Religion*. (Vol. XIII. No. 1. January, 1933. Chicago University Press). W. A. Harper : The Gazi of Turkey. C. C. Marshall : The Historical Relation of Law and Religion in its American Aspect. C. R. Bowen : Love in the Fourth Gospel. D. W. Riddle : The Later Books of the N.T., A Point of View and a Prospect. R. Fortenbaugh : American Lutheran Synods and Slavery, 1830-60. E. R. Goodenough : 'Heinemann 'Philons griechische u. jüdische Bildung,' (important). D. W. Riddle : Kittel 'Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N.T.' [To be completed in 30 parts : 'one of the absolutely essential tools of N.T. scholarship.']. J. T. McNeill : Evelyn White 'History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis.' E. E. Aubrey : Lagrange 'M. Loisy et le Modernisme' (critical). G. Vlastos : Needham 'The Great Amphibium.' E. S. Conklin : Oliver 'Pastoral Psychiatry'; Dewar and Hudson 'Psychology for Religious Workers.' W. A. Harper : Burnham 'The Wholesome Personality.'

*Laudate* (Vol. X. No. 40. December, 1932. Burnham, Bucks : Nashdom Abbey). B. Clements : A Christmas Sermon. Abbot of Pershore : Ascetical Theology and the Anglo-Catholic Movement, II. F. A. M. Spencer : Humanism and Christianity. H. C. Bell : Reservation. H. C. Bell : Dibdin 'Establishment in England' (critical). Ven. J. H. F. Peile : Mackay 'The Other Spanish Christ.' C. E. Faithfull : Gibson 'The Philosophy of Descartes.' Needham 'The Great Amphibium.' Mann 'Lives of the Popes, XVI-XVIII' (3½ pp.). Flick 'Doctrine of the Mediaeval Church' [The 'first two hundred pages contain rather more than three hundred errors of fact' according to the reviewer]. Anson 'The Quest of Solitude.' Mackay 'Studies in the Ministry of our Lord.' Bett 'Joachim of Flora.' Bett 'Nicholas of Cusa.' Masseron 'The Franciscans.' Guy 'Personality and Holy Communion.' Ingram 'The Church of To-morrow' (critical). De la Gorce 'Francis Thompson et les Poètes catholiques d'Angleterre.'

*The Congregational Quarterly* (Vol. X. No. 4. October, 1932. London, E.C.4 : Memorial Hall). E. J. Price : Christ and Human Personality. The Place of Speculation in Life. J. D. Morgan : Nature's Mechanism. G. H. Box : The Liturgical Factor in some recent O.T. Criticism. W. Band : Russia and Japan in the Present Far Eastern Crisis. A. T. S. James : Our Inner Life. Some Considerations by the Way. W. B. Selbie : Confession. D. R. Lock : Wilfred Owen (1893-1918). J. W. James : The Religious Apathy of the Masses. F. Tillyard : The Birmingham (Copec) House Improvement Society. W. B. Selbie : Heiler 'Prayer.' J. P. Naish : Welch 'Deuteronomy. The Framework to the Code.' S. Cave : Radhakrishnan 'An Idealist View of Life'; Abbott 'The Keys of Power.'

*The Baptist Quarterly* (Vol. VI. No. 5. January, 1933. London, W.C.1 : 4 Southampton Row). B. G. Collins : The Christian Message concerning the Life Hereafter. H. J. Wicks : The Exhilaration of Pentecost. H. Cook : Sir Walter Scott. H. H. C. Liu : The University of Shanghai. The Deputies of the Dissenters. Henry Hills, Official Printer. Edward Wightman. Calendar of Letters (1794-1800) [Isaac Mann, A.M.]. P. Stock : John Stutterd of Colne. Nathan Smith, to Barnoldswick, 1799. Baptist Ministers in Ireland, 1657-9. Charles-Marie de Veil. E. A. Payne : Addison 'The Renewed Church of the United Brethren, 1722-1930'; Fullerton 'Zinzendorf.' Bryan 'Concerning God.'

*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (Vol. X. No. 29. November, 1932. Longmans). R. Sillem : Commissions of the Peace, 1380-1485. J. G. Milne : The Muniments of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. M. Johnston : Bibliography of the Registers (Printed) of the Universities, Inns of Court, Colleges and Schools of Great Britain and Ireland. Addenda and Corrigenda. Willson 'The Parliamentary Diary of Robert Bowyer, 1606-7.' Anglo-American Historical Conference, 1932. Summaries of Theses. The Dictionary of National Biography [corrections, etc.]. Historical MSS. A. Accessions. B. Migrations.

*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (Supplement, No. 3. November, 1933. Longmans.) G. and Z. Parsloe : Guide to the Historical Publications of the Societies of England and Wales. Third Supplement : 1931.

*The Quarterly Review* (No. 515. January, 1933. John Murray). A. Cecil : Lord Oxford and Asquith. F. B. Bradley-Birt : Renunciation, Indian and Otherwise. Sir R. Blomfield : Modern Sculpture and the Greeks. R. F. Naftel : The Revolt against Tithe. E. Haldane : The Governess. D. V. Duff : The Mandates in Syria and Palestine. W. H. Chesson : Rossetti's Marriage. Sir F. Gore : A Seventeenth-Century Barrister [Roger North]. Sir Ian Malcolm : Champagne. I. Phayre : Armaments and British Prestige. S.



Wood: Exit the Body-Snatchers. B. E. C. Dugdale: Arthur James Balfour and Robert Morant. Trevelyan 'Ramillies and the Union of Scotland.' Rodd 'Rome of the Renaissance and To-day.' Streeter 'The Buddha and the Christ.'

*The Jewish Quarterly Review* (Vol. XXIII. No. 3. January, 1933. Macmillan). H. Klein: The Hadrianic Persecution and the Rabbinic Law of Sale. E. A. Speiser: The Pronunciation of Hebrew based chiefly on the Transliterations in the Hexapla, I. J. Finkel: Bialoblocki 'Materialen zum islamischen u. jüdischen Eherecht'; Gibb 'Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-54'; Levy 'A Baghdad Chronicle'; Lammens 'L'Arabie Occidentale avant L'Hégire'; Carra de Vaux 'Les Penseurs de l'Islam'; Mur-gotten 'The Origins of the Islamic State'; Ferrand 'Introduction à l'Astronomie nautique arabe.' M. M. Kaplan: Stein 'Philo u. der Midrasch' (6½ pp. critical). J. A. Montgomery: Margolis 'The Book of Joshua in Greek.' Cripps 'Amos.'

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*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (Vol. XIII. Nos. 2-4. 1932. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck). K. Bornhausen: Goethe über Schöpfung, Prädestination, Gnade. J. Schneider: Eschatologie u. Mystik im N.T.' K.

Thieme: Zu Luthers Lehre von Erlösung u. Rechtfertigung. O. Michel: Unser Ringen um die Eschatologie. K. Heim: Zur Frage der philosophischen Grundlegung der Theologie. T. Steinmann: Müller '200 Jahre Brüdermission.' No. 3. W. Thimme: Die 'Deutsche Theologie' u. Luthers 'Freiheit eines Christenmenschen.' Ein Vergleich. T. Siegfried: Zur Christologie Schleiermachers. W. Verwiebe: Pneuma u. Nus in Schleiermachers Christlicher Sitte. R. Paulus: Zur Philosophie u. Religion des deutschen Idealismus, II. G. Kuhlmann: Zu Karl Barths Anselmbuch. No. 4. T. Steinmann: Noch einmal. Zur Philosophischen Grundlegung der Theologie. E. Fuchs: Theologische Exegese u. philosophisches Seinsverständnis, Zum 'Gespräch' zwischen Bultmann u. Heidegger. H. Stephan: 'Krisis u. Wende des christlichen Geistes?' D. Müller: Politische Theologie oder theologische Politik?

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*The Church Overseas* (Vol. VI. No. 21. January, 1933. Westminster, S.W.1: Church House). M. M. Underhill: Seven Years' Retrospect. D. Westermann: Swahili as the Lingua Franca of E. Africa. H. S. Sandegren: The Church of Sweden Mission. B. A. Tompkins: Anglican Missionary Work in S. America. C. E. Edwards: The Hubli Settlement. News from the Dioceses. Quarterly Survey. D. Jenks: Roman Catholic Missions. Bishop of Hong-Kong: Hung (ed.) 'As it Looks to Young China.' E. W. Smith: Young 'Customs and Folk-lore of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples.' Sir A. Bertram: Cameron 'Church Finance at Home and Overseas.' E. A. Bean: Gollock 'Daughters of Africa.' A. V. Murray: Shaw 'God's Candlelights.' J. G. Barclay: 'Christian Education in Japan.' H. T. Holland: Thompson 'Medical Missions at Work.' W. H. M. Walton: Axling 'Kagawa.' K. S. Malden: Mathieson 'British Slave Emancipation, 1838-49.'

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